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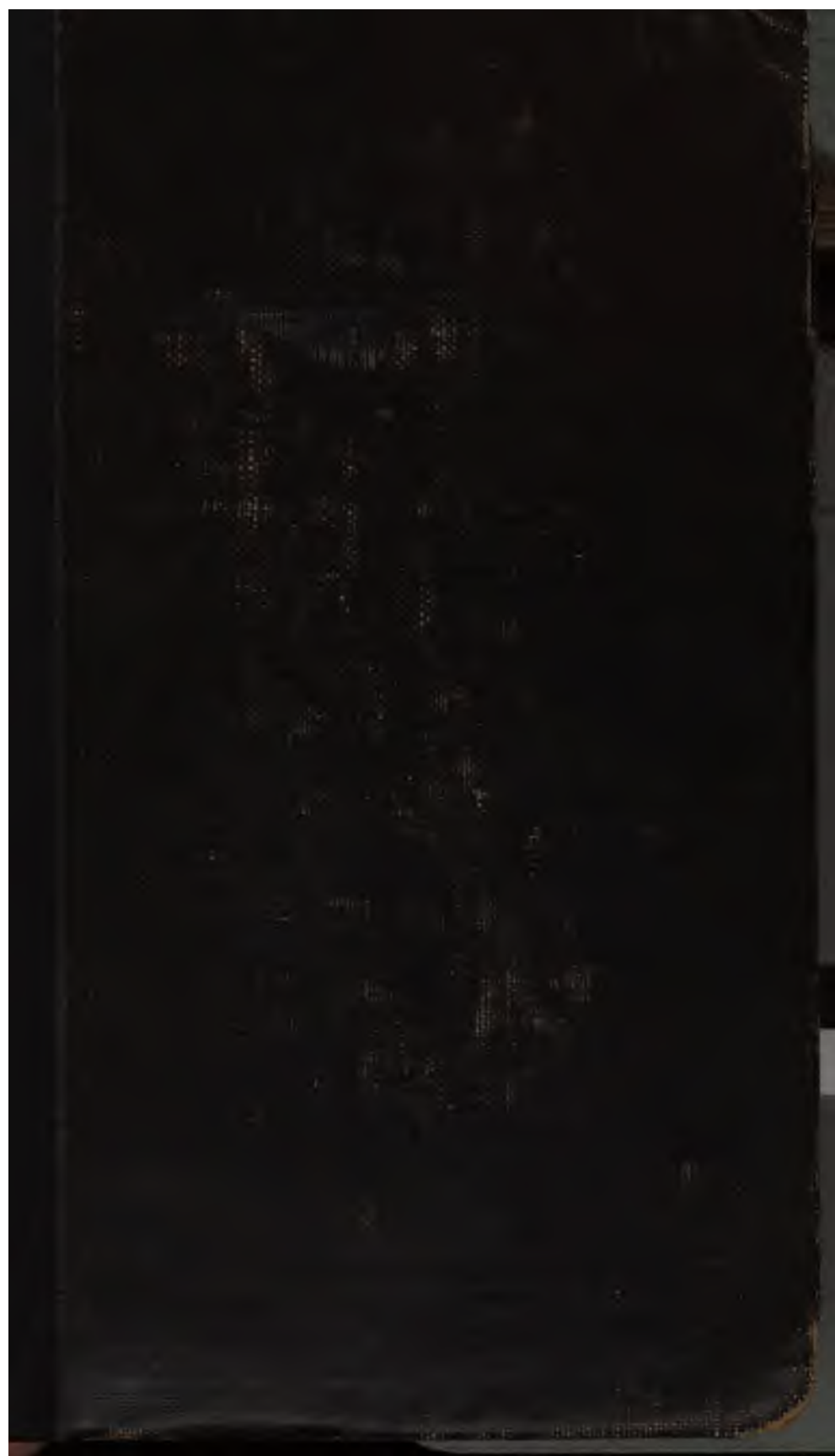
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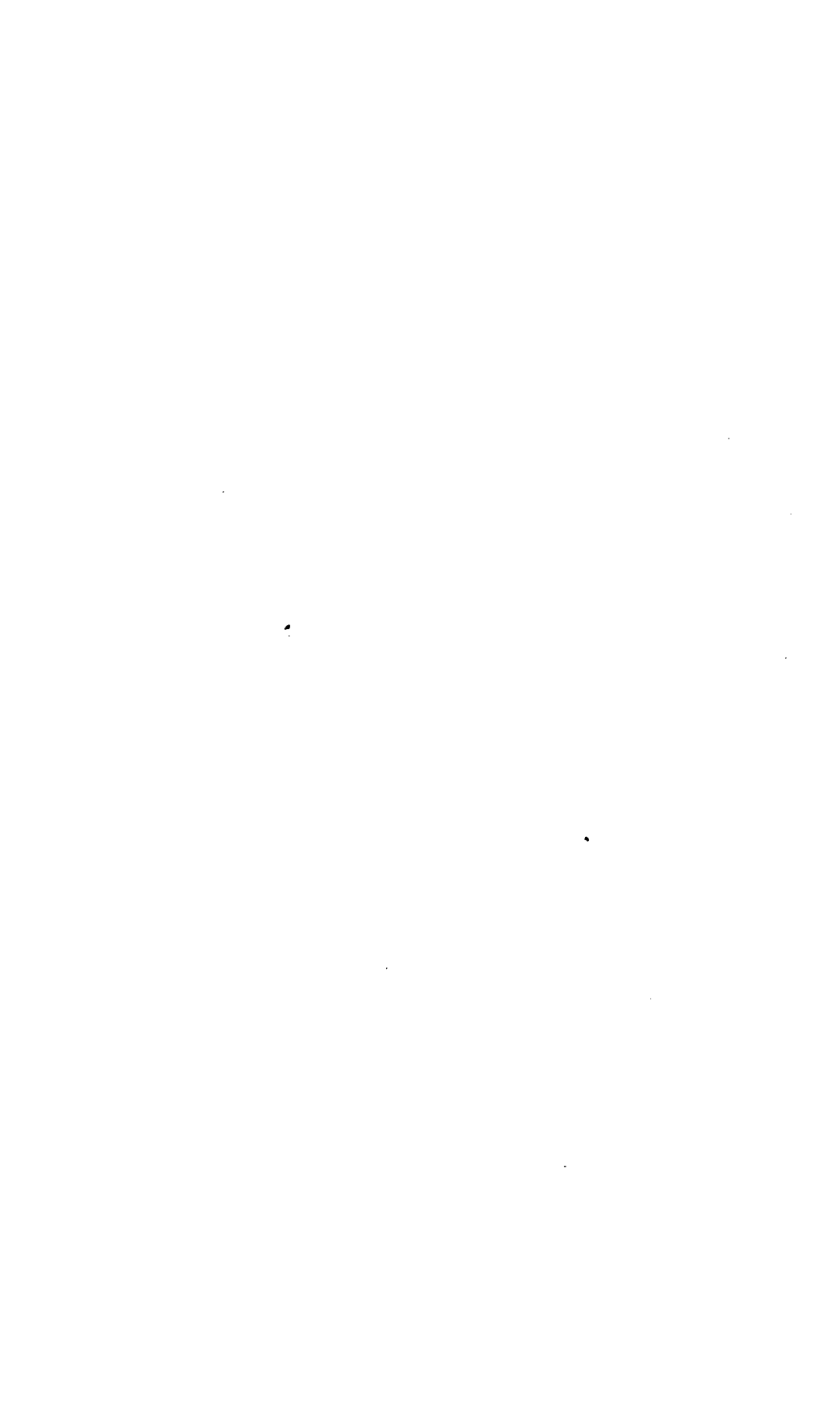
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY



PART I.

THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND.





*Mon treuer
Almanach Heine*

THE
HIGHLANDERS
OF
SCOTLAND

BY THE LATE
WILLIAM F. SKENE, D.C.L.
LL.D., F.S.A. (SCOT.)

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EDITED, WITH EXCURSUS AND NOTES, BY
ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., LL.D.

*Author of "An Etymological Gaelic Dictionary," "Inverness
Personal Names"; Editor of "Reliquiæ Celticæ,"
"History of Clan Matheson," &c.*

ENEAS MACKAY
43 MURRAY PLACE, STIRLING
1902

MA 268284
The Sentinel Press, Darling

268284

[Original Title-Page.]

THE
HIGHLANDERS
OF
SCOTLAND,
THEIR
ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES ;
WITH
A SKETCH OF THEIR
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
AND
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CLANS INTO WHICH THEY WERE DIVIDED,
AND OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH EXISTED AMONG THEM.

BY WILLIAM F. SKENE, F.S.A. SCOT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON :
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXXVI.

TO
THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON,
This Work,
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IS
(WITH THEIR PERMISSION)
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY THEIR
OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

“*HEUREUX le peuple dont l’histoire ennuit,*” say the French, and if this be a just criterion of national prosperity, it must be confessed that the Highlanders of Scotland have no mean claim to be considered as one of the happiest people in Europe. Just as this remark may be with regard to Highland history, it would not be easy to assign a reason for it, still less to account for the general neglect which the history of that people has experienced, in an age when the early annals of almost every nation have been examined, and their true origin and history determined, with a talent and success to which no other period can show a parallel.

The cause of this somewhat remarkable fact may, perhaps, be traced to the influence of that extraordinary prejudice against the Celtic race in general, and against the Scottish and Irish branches of that race in particular, which certainly biased the better judgment of our best historians, who appear to have regarded the Highlands with somewhat of the spirit of those who said of old, “Can any good thing come out of Nazareth.” But it is mainly to be attributed to the neglect, by the indiscreet supporters of Highland fables, of that strictly critical accuracy, in point of evidence and of reasoning, so indispensable to the value of historical research ; the want of which infallibly leads to the loose style of argument and vague assumption so remarkably characteristic of that class of writers, and tends unfortunately to draw down upon the subject itself no small share of that ridicule to which the authors were more justly liable. The prevailing error which appears to me to have misled almost all who have as yet written upon the subject, has been the gratuitous assumption, not only by those whose writings are directed against the claims of the Highlanders, but also by their numerous defenders, that the present Highlanders are the descendants of the ancient Scotti, who, in company with the Picti, so often ravaged the Roman provinces in Britain. Nor have either party deemed it necessary to bring either argument or authority in support of their assumption. The Scots, as will be shewn in the sequel, were unquestionably a colony issuing from Ireland in the sixth century ; and thus, while the one party triumphantly

asserts the Irish origin of the Highlanders, their defenders have hitherto directed their efforts to the fruitless attempt of proving that the Scots were the original inhabitants of the country.

The attention of the Author was directed to this subject by an advertisement of the Highland Society of London, making offer of a premium for the best History of the Highland Clans ; his Essay proved the successful one, and the Highland Society deemed his Work worthy of the attention of the public, and requested that it might be published. Since that period the Author has been enabled to make many important additions to the original Essay, and has considerably altered its plan and arrangement. In collecting the materials of the present Work, the Author has to acknowledge the very liberal assistance which he has received from many of his literary friends in Scotland ; and he feels that it would be improper to allow this opportunity to escape without acknowledging the very great obligations which he has been laid under by Donald Gregory, Esq., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the valuable and important communications which he has at all times so liberally made to the Author ; and also by Mr. T. G. Repp, for the able assistance which he has rendered to the Author in the earlier part of his enquiry.

In presenting this Work to the public it will be necessary to say a few words regarding the system of history developed in it. A glance at the Table of Contents will shew that that system is entirely new ; that it is diametrically opposed to all the generally received opinions on the subject, and that it is in itself of a nature so startling, as to require a very rigid and attentive examination before it can be received. The Author had, from a very early period, been convinced that the present system was erroneous, and that there was in it some fundamental error, which prevented the elucidation of the truth. Accordingly, after a long and attentive examination of the early authorities in Scottish history, together with a thorough investigation of two new and most valuable sources—viz., the Icelandic Sagas in their original language and the Irish Annals—he came to the conclusion, that that fundamental error was the supposed descent of the Highlanders from the Dalriadic Scots, and that the Scottish conquest in the ninth century did not include the Highlands. Proceeding upon this basis, the system of history developed in the following pages naturally emerged ; and in it will be found the first attempt to trace the Highlanders, and to prove their descent, step by step, from the Caledonians—an attempt which the incontrovertible Irish origin of the Dalriadic Scots has hitherto rendered altogether unsuccessful. The Author is aware that to many this system may

appear wild and visionary, but he feels confident that a perusal of the chain of reasoning contained in the first few chapters, will be sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced enquirer that the true origin of the Highlanders is therein ascertained, and that their descent from the Caledonians rests upon historic authority of no ordinary strength. The same remarks which apply generally to the origin of the Highlanders, are true also with regard to the Highland clans; the descent of each of these has been traced and proved from the most authentic documents, while the absurdity of the Irish origins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the Scandinavian dreams of later historians, have been shewn.

With these remarks, the Author leaves his Work to the judgment of the public, and he may conclude with the words of a celebrated foreign historian, "There can be no greater enjoyment to the inquisitive mind than to find light where he has hitherto found nothing but darkness. More than once I have experienced this agreeable sensation in the progress of the present investigation, and I may venture with the more confidence to deliver this Work from my hands to the reader, because happily I can safely assert, that much which formerly appeared to him only in doubtful and obscure gloom, will now be seen in the full and clear light of day."

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

DR. SKENE'S first and most popular work, "The Highlanders of Scotland," appeared in two small volumes sixty-five years ago, and for the greater part of that period it has been out of print, and is now extremely scarce, with the consequent enhancement of price. The author did not produce a second edition, as he had in view the production of a more elaborate work covering the same ground; and this he published in 1876-1880 in three volumes, under the title of "Celtic Scotland." In this work Dr. Skene did not, however, condescend to the writing of an account of the origins of the individual Highland clans as he did in the earlier work, that, indeed, forming the bulk of the second volume of the "Highlanders." The consequence of this has been that those of the public who interest themselves in clan history—and they are many—have to consult the second volume of the "Highlanders," and there is thus a much-felt want for a second and accessible edition. Besides this, it is well known that the smaller book, with its definiteness of narrative and youthful assurance, is still read in preference to the elaboration and judicial balancing of "Celtic Scotland." It is to meet this public preference and public want that this—the second—edition of the early book has been undertaken; but it was felt that the defects of a work, published at a time when modern Celtic scholarship was only just beginning in Ireland and on the Continent the great career which it has been running ever since with ever-increasing volume, should be pointed out in notes and appendices. Some errors in the book are continually reproduced in treatises and articles bearing on Highland history, though these errors have been carefully, if silently, eradicated in "Celtic Scotland." The Editor's first duty has been to bring the work up, in his notes, to the standard of Dr. Skene's latest expressed views; he has also made the corrections that two decades of scholarship (1880-1902) have made necessary.

The Editor has, besides, taken advantage of this occasion to emphasise and make clear the one great disservice which Dr. Skene has done to the history of his country; and that is his theory that the Picts,

xii PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

in language and race, were Gaelic. In the preface to the present work Skene warns his readers that the system of history developed in it is "diametrically opposed to all the generally received opinions on the subject, and that it is itself of a nature so startling as to require a very rigid and attentive examination before it can be received." This is very true; Skene had reversed all that the Scottish Chronicles told of the Picts and of the Scottic Conquest, and had rejected the testimony of contemporaries that the Picts spoke a language of their own, and had manners and customs peculiar to themselves. Few now, even of those that write histories, seem to know that Skene's views of Scottish ethnology and early history are entirely revolutionary. His "uniformitarian" theory of Gaelic-speaking Picts seems so natural that people forget to look at the original authorities and see for themselves how extraordinarily Skene has dealt with these. County histories, Clan histories, and general Scottish histories presently in course of publication, accept Skene's views, either without doubt or with little demur, or even with a jocose gaiety that makes the latest of them "go one better." *And yet no present-day Celtic scholar*—and many have written on the subject—*holds Skene's views that the Picts spoke Gaelic.* It is full time now that this should be recognised, and that the old position of the Chronicles should be once more reverted to.

The original text and notes of the "Highlanders of Scotland" have been reproduced intact, first and separate from all editorial matter, which comes at the end of the book. Even the misprints of the earlier edition have been left; they were so unimportant that it was thought best to leave them in a work claiming to be an exact reproduction of the original text. A portrait of Dr. Skene and an edition of Ptolemy's map of Scotland are also added, together with a much-needed index.

ALEXANDER MACBAIN.

LIFE OF DR. SKENE.

WILLIAM FORBES SKENE was born at Inverie, in Kincardineshire, in 1809. His father was James Skene of Rubislaw, near Aberdeen, Scott's great friend, a lawyer and litterateur; his mother was a daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo. Young Skene was reared among surroundings that brought him into contact with the best literary men of that day in Scotland. He received his early education in Edinburgh High School, and even at that early age he devoted some attention to Gaelic, which was no doubt natural, as he was connected maternally with the Glengarry family. Besides, being somewhat delicate as a young lad, he was, on Scott's suggestion, sent to Laggan, in Badenoch, to board with the famous Gaelic scholar, Dr. Mackintosh Mackay. These facts account for his devotion to Celtic history, and also, no doubt, as has been suggested, for his bias towards the families of Cluny and Glengarry as against Mackintosh and Clanranald. In 1824 he went to Germany, where he sojourned for a year and a half, and where he acquired a taste for philology, which, however, never passed the amateur stage with him. Thereafter he attended St. Andrew's University for a session, and for another Edinburgh University, and being destined for the legal profession he served his legal apprenticeship with his relative, Sir William Jardine, and became W.S. in 1832. He held an appointment in the Court of Session for many years, becoming latterly Depute-Clerk of Court. In the meantime he had become the head of a prominent legal firm, a position which he held to his death. It is interesting to note that Robert Louis Stevenson spent some of his time trying to learn law in Dr. Skene's firm. In the later years of his life he devoted himself, in the comparative freedom which he attained from business cares and engagements, to putting his thoughts and researches in Scoto-Celtic history into shape, and "Celtic Scotland" appeared in 1876-1880 in three volumes—his *magnum opus*. He succeeded Burton in 1881 as Historiographer Royal for Scotland, and had been made LL.D. of Edinburgh University and D.C.L. of Oxford in 1879. Dr. Skene took much interest in religious and philanthropic work, and produced in this

connection a work entitled "Gospel History for the Young" (3 vols., 1883-4). In Church polity he belonged to the Episcopalian communion. He died at Edinburgh, unmarried, in August, 1892.

His first work was the "Highlanders of Scotland," published in 1837. He contributed many valuable papers to the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries"; in 1862 he wrote a long preface to Dr. Maclachlan's edition of the "Book of the Dean of Lismore," where he defends Macpherson's Ossian; he edited the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* in 1867—a most valuable work containing most Irish and Scottish documents relating to the ancient history of Scotland; next year he issued the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* in two volumes, with an elaborate introduction; and he edited Fordun and Reeves's "Adamnan" for the *Historians of Scotland* series. Lastly came his chief work, "Celtic Scotland." The second volume of this work, dealing with the "Church and Culture," is the best piece of work that Skene has done; the first and last volumes are not so satisfactory. They are both spoiled by his ethnologic views in regard to the Picts. Much of the third volume applies only to the Irish tribes, the Picts being supposed to be like them in polity and culture. Of Dr. Skene's intellectual qualities, Prof. Mackinnon says (Proceedings of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh, 1894): "He had a vigorous intellect, a powerful memory, a judgment in the main calm and clear. He possessed in no small measure, the constructive faculty that was able to fit together into whole isolated facts gathered from many quarters, the historical imagination that could clothe the dry bones with flesh and skin, and make the dead past live again." Dr. Skene was undoubtedly possessed of high constructive ability, but he was weak in the critical faculty. This is shown in his method of dealing with his authorities and his historic materials. The Sagas, for example, throw little real light on Scottish history from 800 to 1057; yet Skene undertakes to write the history of Scotland for that period by their light. His belief in the "Albanic Duan" as against the native Chronicles is another case. The Celts of Scotland, however, owe Dr. Skene a deep debt of gratitude, for he was the first to draw their early history out of the slough into which it had got, and to make it respectable. For this end he lent the weight of his learning and position to the cause of the Scottish Celt at a time when it was sorely needed; and he made writers of Scottish history devote fuller attention to the Celtic side of Scottish affairs.

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THE HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGINAL COLONIZATION OF BRITAIN—THE PICTS AND CALEDONIANS PROVED TO BE THE SAME PEOPLE—THE DALRIADIC SCOTS AN IRISH COLONY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

**Colonization
of Britain.**

THE original colonization of Britain, as of most countries, is involved in considerable obscurity; but although this obscurity arises in some degree from the distance of time to which we must look back, and the scanty materials which have come down to us, yet much of the uncertainty which has hitherto invested the subject, and of the controversies to which that uncertainty has necessarily given rise, is to be attributed to the want of a proper discrimination of the authorities for the early history of Britain. It is not unusual to find, even in writers of the present day, authors of the third and of the thirteenth centuries quoted as of equal authority, and equal reliance apparently placed upon their statements; while, on the other hand, we see others wholly neglect the authentic historians, and build their theories upon the monkish fables of the middle ages. The authorities upon which the genuine history of Scotland is principally grounded may, with a view to the reliance which we ought to place upon them, and their importance for the earlier history, be divided into three classes. Of these the

**Authorities
for the early
history.**

Roman authors.

first class consists of the Roman authors, who wrote while the Romans retained possession of the greater part of Britain; these excellent historians, from their antiquity, the attention and accuracy with which they were accustomed to examine the history and manners of their barbaric foes, and the fidelity of their representations, ought to be ranked as first in importance, and it is exclusively from them that the great leading facts in the early history of the country ought to be taken.

Monkish writers.

In the second class we may place the early monkish writers, as Bede, Gildas, Nennius, Adomnan, &c. Much of the error into which former writers have been led, has arisen from an improper use of these authors; they should be consulted exclusively as contemporary historians, —whatever they assert as existing or occurring in their own time, or shortly before it, we may receive as true; but when we consider the perverted learning of that period, and the little information which they appear to have possessed of the traditions of the people around them, we ought to reject their fables and fanciful origins, as altogether undeserving of credit.

Annalists.

The last class consists of what may be termed the Annalists. These are partly native writers of Scotland, partly the Irish and Welsh annalists, and are of the greatest use for the more detailed history of the country. The native Annals consist of those generally termed the Latin Lists, viz., the Pictish Chronicle, Chronicles of St. Andrew's, Melrose, Sanctæ-crucis, and others, and also of the Albanic Duan, a Gaelic historical poem of the eleventh century. The Irish annals are those of Tighernac, also of the eleventh century, and by far the best and most authentic chronicle we have. The annals of Innisfallen, Buellan, and Ulster, works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ The Welsh annals are prin-

¹Throughout this work reference is made only to the accurate versions of the Albanic Duan and the Irish Annals published by Dr. Charles O'Connor, little credit being due to the inaccurate transcript of Johnston, and still less to the dishonest version

of John Pinkerton. Those parts of the Annals which relate to Scotland have been printed by me, with a literal translation, in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, edited by the Iona Club.

cipally the Triads, written, if we may judge from internal evidence, between the sixth and ninth centuries; and the annals of Carradoc of Nant Garvan, who lived in the thirteenth century. Besides these, much light is thrown upon the history of Scotland during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, by the Norse Sagas.¹

Proceeding upon the principle of this classification, it is plain, that in order to determine the original colonization of Scotland, and to establish the great leading facts of its early history, we must turn exclusively to the Roman authors; and we shall find that although the information contained in them is scanty, yet that when they are considered without reference to later and less trustworthy authorities, they afford data amply sufficient for this purpose. The earliest authentic notice of the British isles and of their inhabitants which we possess, appears to be the voyage of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, in the fifth century before the incarnation, as described by Festus Avienus; from that account it may be inferred that at that period the larger island was inhabited by a people called *Albiones*, while the Gens Hibernorum possessed the smaller island, to which they gave their name.² From this period we meet with little concerning these islands, except the occasional mention of their names, until the arms of Julius Cæsar added Britain to the already overgrown empire of the Romans.³ When Cæsar landed upon that island its name had already changed from the more ancient appellation of *Albion* to that of *Britannia*; and although he calls the inhabitants indiscriminately *Britanni*, yet it appears from his account, that

Original colonization to be determined from the Roman authors only.

The oldest inhabitants were the Albiones.

¹ Reference is here made also to the *originals* of these very important historians, and the author must in like manner protest against the authority of Torfæus.

² "Ast hinc duobus in sacram—sic insulam

Dixere Prisci—solibus cursus rati est: Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit,

Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit;

Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet."

—Festus Avienus *de Oris Maritimis*, v. 35.

³ The oldest notice of the British isles is undoubtedly that contained in a Treatise of the World, generally attributed to Aristotle. In this treatise they are called Albion and Ierne, which appear to be their most ancient appellations.

they consisted at that time of two races, strongly distinguished from each other by their manners, and the relative state of civilization to which they had advanced. The one race inhabited the interior of the country, and all tradition of their origin seemed to have been lost; while the other race, which inhabited the more maritime parts of the island, were acknowledged to have proceeded from Belgium. From this we may infer, that the inland people were principally the ancient *Albiones*, while the others were a new people, termed *The Britanni*. *Britanni*, who by the conquest of the island had imposed upon it their name.¹

At the same period, too, it would seem that Ireland had received a new race of people, termed *Scotti*, as in the cosmography attributed to Æthicus, and said to have been *The Scotti*. drawn up by the orders of Julius Cæsar, we find it mentioned that Ireland was inhabited by *Gentibus Scotorum*; ² Sidonius Apollinaris also mentions the Scots as having been among the enemies of Cæsar.³ That these Scots are to be distinguished from the more ancient Hiberni, is clear from the lives of St. Patrick, the most ancient notices perhaps which we have of the state of that island.⁴ But even independently of that, we should be led to the same result by analogy, the name of Scotia having gradually superseded that of Hibernia, in the same manner as the name of Britannia had previously superseded that of Albion. It would thus appear, that in the time of Cæsar, each of the British isles had received a new race of inhabitants, the Britanni and the Scotti, in addition to the old possessors, the Albiones and the Hiberni.

The next author from whom we derive any information relative to the inhabitants of Britain is Tacitus, who, from the peculiar sources of information which he possessed, and his general credit as an historian, is the more worthy of attention.⁵ From the few remarks which he makes on the different inhabi-

¹ Cæsar de Bello Gallico, v. 12.

² "Coeli solisque temperie magis utilis Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus colitur: Menavia insula æque ac Hibernia Scotorum gentibus habitatur."

³ "Fuderit et quanquam Scotum."—Sidon, Apollinar. Car. vii., l. 90.

⁴ See Innes's Critical Essay, vol. ii., for a clear demonstration of this fact.

⁵ Tacitus in Vita Agricola, 11.

tants of Britain, it would appear that, in the time of Agricola, they were principally distinguished into three races; viz., the Britanni, the Silures, and the inhabitants of Caledonia. Of these, he remarks the resemblance between the Britanni and the inhabitants of Gaul, both in their outward appearance and in their language;¹ they seem therefore to have been the same people with Cæsar's Britanni, who inhabited the maritime parts of Britain; and they appear during the interval between these two writers to have pushed their conquests in some places even as far as the western sea, and to have obtained possession of the greater part of the island.

In the time of Agricola there were three races: Britanni, Silures, and Caledonii.

The Caledonii were the remains of the Albiones.

That the Silures and Caledonii were not of the same race, and could not both have been remnants of the Albiones or Britons, who inhabited the interior during the time of Cæsar, appears sufficiently plain from the very marked distinction which Tacitus draws between them, and from the different origin which he is consequently disposed to assign to them. But when we consider the fact, that the name of Albion or Albania was afterwards exclusively confined to the northern part of Britain, joined to the constant tradition recorded both by the Welsh and native writers, that its inhabitants were peculiarly entitled to the distinctive appellation of Albani or Albanich; it seems obvious that we must view the inhabitants of Caledonia, which certainly included the whole of the nations inhabiting to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde,² as the sole remaining part of the *Albiones* or ancient inhabitants of the island.

The only conclusion to which we can come regarding the Silures is, that they were either a new people who had arrived during the interval between the periods when Cæsar and Tacitus wrote, or else that they were a

The Silures probably a part of the Scotti.

¹ Tacitus in Vita Agricola, 11.

"Proximi Gallis et similes sunt.
Sermo haud multum diversus."

² This appears from the speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Galgacus, the Caledonian general, delivered before the battle of the

Grampians. In which he distinctly states that no people lived to the north of them, and that they were the northernmost inhabitants of the island—"sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa."—Tacit. Vit. Agr., 30.

part of the nation of the Scots, who made their appearance in these islands about or shortly after the time of Cæsar. Their appearance, situation, and the tradition of a Spanish origin, which they appear to have possessed in common with the Scots of Ireland, would lead us to adopt the latter supposition; but, as an enquiry into the origin of this tribe would be somewhat foreign to the object of the present work, and would lead to considerable digression, we shall proceed to the consideration of the subject more immediately connected with it, namely, the origin of the inhabitants of the northern part of Britain.

We have thus seen that the Caledonians, or inhabitants of the country extending to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, were the remains of the Albiones; and that, in the time of Tacitus, the only other inhabitants of Britain, besides the Silures, were the Britanni, a people who acknowledged a Gallic origin. The next author from whom we can derive any important information on the subject of their origin is Dio. Cassius, who wrote about

In the third century the unconquered Britons were divided into Mæatæ and Caledonii.

A.D. 235. He states that the barbaric Britons consisted of two great nations called Caledonii and Mæatæ,¹ and as provincial Britain unquestionably extended at that time to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, both of these nations must have inhabited the country north of the wall of Antonine. It is equally clear from the words of Dio., that these two nations were but two divisions of the same race; and he adds, that the Mæatæ lay next to the wall and the Caledonii beyond them, and that to one or other of these two nations might be referred all the other tribes.

We can only consider them then as the same people who inhabited Caledonia in the days of Tacitus, and we thus see that no new people or race had arrived in North Britain down to the beginning of the third century, but that it still continued to be inhabited by the same Caledonii who opposed the march of Agricola in the first century, and who, we may infer from the Roman authors, were a part of the ancient nation of the Albiones, the oldest inhabitants of the island. Of the internal state of the

¹ Dio, Cass., l. 76, c. 12.

Caledonians during this period we know little; in the time of Agricola they appear to have consisted of a number of independent tribes, who, although they acknowledged a common origin, and were known by one national appellation, were in all probability engaged in frequent warfare among themselves, and were only united for the purpose of a general incursion into the territories of the southern Britons. The invasion of the Romans appears to have produced the first general and permanent union among them. The different tribes of Caledonia assembled together, and with many solemnities formed themselves into a general confederacy; one of their chiefs was elected to lead them against the Romans; and Galgacus may thus with reason be called the first king of the Caledonians¹. His authority, in all probability, only continued while the nation was at war, but the system once introduced, seems to have been followed out on after occasions, gradually assuming a more permanent character, until it at length appeared in the shape of the Pictish monarchy.

A.D. 121.
Caledonians
consisted of
thirteen
tribes.

In the second century the Caledonians consisted of thirteen tribes, whose names and positions are fortunately preserved to us by the invaluable geographer Ptolemy. In the oldest editions of his work they appear as follows:—

<i>Tribes.</i>	<i>Districts.</i>
1. Epidioi	Inhabiting Kintyre, Knapdale, Argyll proper, and Lorn.
2. Kreones . . . ———	Lochaber, Morvern, Moidart, Morer, Knodert, and Glenelg.
3. Karnones . . ———	Wester Ross.
4. Kairinoi . . . ———	Assint, Edderachylis, and Parish of Duriness.
5. Kournaovioi . ———	Strathnaver and Kaithness.
6. Kaledonioi . . ———	Badenoch, Stratherrick, Glen-garry, Glenmorison, Glenurquhart, and the Aird, &c., Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Atholl.
7. Kanteai ———	Easter Ross.

¹ Tacitus Vit. Agricol., c. 30.

<i>Tribes.</i>	<i>Districts.</i>
8. Lougoi Inhabiting	Parishes of Kildonnán, South Clyne, Golspie, Dornoch and Rogart in Sutherland.
9. Mertai ———	Parishes of Criech and Lairg in Sutherland.
10. Vakomagoi . ———	The County of Elgin, Strathspey, Strathavon, Braemar, and Strathardle.
11. Vernicomēs . ———	Merns, Angus, and Fife.
12. Taixaloi . . . ———	Buchan and Banffshire.
13. Damnonioi . ———	Perthshire, except Atholl.

In this state they may be supposed to have continued with little variation down to the end of the third century.

Hitherto the only people mentioned by the Roman authors, as inhabiting North Britain, have been the *Mætætæ* and *Caledonii*, and the Roman writers are after this period altogether silent for some time on this subject, but when they again commence to give us a few scattered notices of the inhabitants of Britain, we find a very remarkable change in their language. The formidable names of *Caledonii* and *Mætætæ* vanish, and in their place we find the enemies of the provincial Britons appearing under the appellations of *Picti*, *Scotti*, *Saxones*, and *Attacotti*.¹ The

Saxons. history of the Saxons is too well known to require any examination; their attacks upon the Romans and provincial Britons were merely piratical excursions, and they had no settlement in the island till long after this period.

Picti. From Dio's account, there can be no doubt that in his time there existed but one nation in the northern or unconquered part of Britain, which was divided into two great tribes of *Mætætæ* and *Caledonii*; the *Picti* must therefore either be their descendants or a new colony, who had arrived in the island after the time of Dio. Their antiquity in the country however is evident from Eumenius, the first author who mentions the *Picts*; and from whom it appears, that they certainly existed in Britain as early as the days of Cæsar;² and their identity with the *Caledonii* and *Mætætæ* of Dio. rests upon authority equally

¹ *Amm. Mar.*, l. 26, c. 4.

Hibernis assueta hostibus.—Eumenius, paneg. Constantio.

² *Soli Britanni Pictis modo et*

strong; for besides the inference to be drawn from the mere fact of finding the Picti occupying the territories of the Caledonians at no very distant period after these Caledonians appear in independence and strength, and when there is no hint of their having been overthrown, or subjected to invasion by a foreign people, we have the distinct and positive testimony of Eumenius, who talks of "The Caledonians *and other Picts*;"¹ and of Ammianus Marcellinus, who informs us that the Picts were divided into two nations, the *Dicaledones* and the *Veturiones*.² It appears then that the Picts consisted of two great nations, of which one is identified by Eumenius with the Caledonii; and as the Mæatæ were certainly of the same race, and inhabited the same territories with the other division of the Pictish nation, their identity cannot be doubted. We see, therefore, the Caledonii of Tacitus and Dio. presenting, under the name of Picti, the same twofold division of their nation, and continuing the same system of successful resistance and active incursion which had rendered them so formidable in the first two centuries.

We may therefore hold it established as an incontrovertible fact, that the Picts and Caledonians were the same people, appearing at different times under different appellations, and that they were consequently the sole remaining descendants of the Albiones, the most ancient inhabitants of the island.³

Of the Attacotti, we know less. St. Jerome Attacotti. informs us, that they were a people inhabiting Britain.⁴ They appear in independence, and engaged in company with the Picts and Scots in frequent incursions into the Roman province, during the years 364 and 368.⁵ After these dates they are not mentioned again, although the Picts and Scots are stated to have ravaged the Roman province in the years 384, 396, and 398,⁵ until we find them in the early part of the fifth century as enrolled among the Roman troops;⁴ and

¹ Eumenius, paneg. Constantin.

² Amm. Marc., l. 27, c. 8.

³ As an additional proof of this, it will be afterwards shewn that the applications of Caledonii and Picti were not acknowledged by themselves, but were imposed upon them

by the Britons and Romans; and that their peculiar and national name was that of *Albanich*, manifestly the original of the classical name of *Albiones*.

⁴ Jerom., tom. ii., p. 78.

⁵ Ammian. Marcellin. passim.

Orosius styles them certain barbarians, “qui quondam *in fœdus* recepti atque in militiam allecti.” From these notices it is plain, that they inhabited some part of Britain, north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and as there certainly existed in Dio’s time no other nation in North Britain than the Picts or Caledonians, they must have settled there subsequent to his time. The conjecture of Pinkerton is therefore probably correct, that they had arrived from Ireland, and occupied that part of the west coast which afterwards became Dalriada.

The only nation whose origin it now remains for Scotti. us to investigate, is that of the *Scotti*. As they appear in hostility to the Romans after the date of the formation of the province of Valentia, they could not have been a part of the Britons; they must then either have owed their origin, as well as the Picts, to the Caledonians, or else they must have been a foreign people engaged only in a temporary league with them against their common enemy the Romans. The supposition of their having a common origin with the Picts, is rendered exceedingly improbable from the marked line of distinction which is drawn between them by Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, both in respect of their manners, their language, and their traditional origin. With regard to their manners, Gildas is perfectly distinct, as he describes them to have been “*moribus ex parte dissidentes*.”¹ Their language appears also to have been in some degree different. Bede in enumerating the various dialects into which the gospel was translated, mentions the Pictish and Scottish as different dialects,² in which Nennius also concurs. Now if the Picts and Scots were both branches of the Caledonians, who were certainly an undivided people in the third century, it is inconceivable that such a difference in language and manners could have existed between them in the fifth. As to the traditional origin of the two nations, as contained in the monkish writers, although in general we ought to place no reliance whatever upon the accuracy of the origin assigned by them to any nation, yet wherever they assigned the same origin to different nations, we may safely infer that there existed between them a resemblance in manners and language suffi-

¹ Gildas, c. 15.

² Bede, b. 1, c. 1.

ently strong to justify the assertion. And in the same way the argument applies, that wherever different origins are given by them to different nations, it is to be inferred that there was a considerable dissimilarity between them, and that no tradition of a common origin could have existed among them. These writers, however, agree in giving totally different origins to the Picts and Scots. For these reasons, then, we may conclude that

Attacked the
Roman
Province from
Ireland.

the Scots could not have been descended of the Caledonians, but must have been merely a part of the Scots of Ireland, who were at that time in temporary connection only with the Picts, but who afterwards, it would appear, obtained a permanent settlement among them. This conclusion is strongly corroborated by the language constantly used regarding them by Claudian, thus :—

“ Ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, *Scotumque* vago mucrone, secutus
Fregit *Hyperboreas* remis audacibus *undas*.”¹

The Picts mentioned in this passage it will be remarked are only subdued, while the Scots alone are followed across the Hyperborean waves, which can only apply to the Irish sea ; because, if it applied to either of the Firths, there would be no reason for the distinction made between the Picts and Scots. Again he says :—

“ Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”²

And,—

“ Totam quum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.”³

It has been said that Ierne here does not mean Ireland, but *Stratherne*,—the glaring improbability of this however must appear, when we consider, First,—That while Ireland was well known under that name, in no other instance do we find any part of Scotland appearing in the works of the Roman writers under any such appellation ; even in Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland, which is so very minute, no such place appears.

¹ Claudian, de III. cons. Honorii.

² Claudian, l. 2, in prin. con Stilichonis.

³ Claudian, de IV. cons. Honorii.

Secondly,—No tolerable reason can be shewn why Claudian should distinguish such a small portion of Scotland on this occasion. Thirdly,—It does not appear that Strathern formed at any time a part of the Scottish possessions; on the contrary, it appears to have been the very head quarters of the Picts. And lastly, in this passage of Claudian, the Scots are described as crossing Tethys in coming from Ierne to the Roman province; but Tethys, it will appear from the following passage of the same author, can only apply to the sea, and not to either of the Firths of Clyde or Forth.

“Domito quod Saxoni Tethys
Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.”¹

The subjugation of the Saxon could only render the sea more safe, and therefore Tethys could not apply to a Firth in North Britain.

The testimony of Gildas is equally distinct upon this point, for he describes the Scots as coming “a circione,” and the Picts “ab aquilone.”² Now it appears from Vitruvius that circio corresponds pretty nearly to our north-west and by west, while aquilo is the same as our north-east, and consequently the Scots could not have come from North Britain, but from Ireland. In another passage, after describing an irruption of the Picts and Scots, he says “Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hybernii domum, post non longum temporis reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt.”³ It is thus beyond a doubt that the Scots had no permanent settlement in Britain, as late as the early part of the fifth century, and that Ireland was the habitation of those Scots who joined the Picts in their attacks upon the provincial Britons.

They appear however from Adomnan and Bede to have been firmly established in the western part of Scotland in the days of St. Columba, and even as late as the time of Bede to have retained the tradition of their Irish origin, although like all Monkish traditions, an appellation for the leader of the colony has been formed out of their generic name of Dalriads. The accession of this colony must have taken place at some period

¹ Claudian, l. 1, v. 395.

² Gildas, c. 11.

³ Gildas, c. 19.

between the time of Gildas and that of St. Columba, and that date has been fixed at the year 503, partly by the direct authority of Tighernac, Flann of Bute, and others, and partly by the calculation of the reigns of their kings, of whom several lists have been preserved.

Such is a simple statement of the leading facts of the early history of Scotland derived from the Roman authors; and a strict adherence to them as the best sources of our early history, and an accurate mode of reasoning, from the facts contained in them, have brought us to the following conclusions; viz.—that the Picts are the descendants of the ancient Caledonians; that these Picts or Caledonians remained the only inhabitants of North Britain till the beginning of the sixth century; that a colony of Scots from Ireland effected a settlement in the island about that time, and that they had firmly established themselves there, and possessed considerable extent of territory in the time of St. Columba, or about sixty years later, and continued in the same state down to the time of Bede in the eighth century.

The great question therefore which we have now to determine is, to which of these two nations the Highlanders of Scotland owe their origin, and this is a question which must depend in a great measure upon the nature and effects of that revolution generally termed the Scottish conquest, which took place in the middle of the ninth century, and which united the various inhabitants of Scotland under the government of one monarch. But of this subject, we shall treat in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF THE SCOTTISH TRIBES IN THE YEAR 731—THEIR TERRITORIES—INTERNAL CONDITION—PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSION—GOVERNMENT.

The nature and effects of the Scottish Conquest involved in obscurity.

THE Scottish conquest (as it is generally termed), in the ninth century, is certainly at the same time the most obscure, and the most important event in the early annals of Scotland. That some great revolution took place at that period, which had the effect of uniting the various independent tribes in Scotland under the rule of one monarch, cannot be doubted; but there are perhaps few points in Scottish history, the nature of which has been more misrepresented and more misunderstood than that important revolution; while no attempt whatever has been made to assign the peculiar causes which led to so remarkable an event, or to ascertain the effects which it produced upon the internal state and condition of the tribes of Scotland, and the extent of its influence in the country. Our earlier writers in general have attributed to Kenneth, the complete conquest and extermination of the whole Pictish nation; but although many attempts were made by their followers to bring this account within the bounds of probability, an examination into the more genuine authorities for Scottish history, and the total silence of contemporary writers in other countries (a silence unaccountable upon the supposition of a revolution of such magnitude having taken place), soon shewed the absurdity of this fable, and led to various, although unsuccessful endeavours on the part of later historians to ascertain the true history of that period; some having even gone so far as to deny the truth of the story altogether, and to maintain that the Picts

were the conquerors in the struggle, and that they had subjected the neighbouring Scots.

Unsatisfactory as the accounts given of this event in the old Scottish chronicles and the theories of the more modern writers are, we can nevertheless distinctly perceive the traces of some remarkable revolution in the state of the country, and in the relative position of the various tribes at that time inhabiting it; and we shall now endeavour, as shortly as possible, to ascertain the real character of this change, and the probable causes which led to it.

The principal events in the history of Scotland from the departure of the Romans to the middle of the eighth century, can be sufficiently discovered from the works of Gildas, Nennius, the Welsh bards, the Irish annals, and in particular from the venerable Bede. The most remarkable occurrences during this period were the arrival of the Scots from Ireland in the year 503, and the conversion of the northern Picts to Christianity about sixty years later by the preaching of Columba; the rest of the history apparently consists entirely of the petty battles of the Picts with the Dalriads and among themselves, with occasional incursions of the Angli into the Pictish territories, none of which produced any lasting change. Bede, however, finishes his history in the year 731, and with that year commences a period of great obscurity and confusion, during which we have no certain guide until the middle of the ninth century, when we find the numerous tribes of Scotland united under the government of Kenneth. Before entering upon this enquiry, it will therefore be necessary for us to ascertain the exact situation in which these nations were placed at the time when Bede finishes his history, the relations which they bore to each other, and the peculiar laws which governed the succession of their monarchs.

Situation of
the tribes of
Scotland in
A.D. 781.

Bede closes his history in the year 731 with a sketch of the state of the inhabitants of Britain, and his words relating to the nations at that time inhabiting the northern part of the island, are "*Pictorum quoque natio tempore hoc et fœdus pacis cum gente habet Anglorum et catholicæ pacis et veritatis cum universali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. Scoti qui Britanniam incolunt suis contenti*

finibus, nihil contra gentem Anglorum insidiarum moliuntur aut fraudium. *Britones* quamvis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum et totius catholicæ ecclesiæ statutum Pascha, minus recte moribusque improbis impugnent, tamen et divina sibi et humana prorsus resistente virtute in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum."¹ From this passage it would appear that when Bede finished his history the inhabitants of North Britain consisted of four races, Picti, Angli, Scoti qui Britanniam incolunt, and Britones, and from the general tone of the passage, as well as from the phrase "suis contenti finibus," it would seem that these different nations had probably for some time previous possessed the same territories, and that their mutual boundaries had not experienced much alteration.

Territories of the Picts. The southern boundary of the Picts, which was also the northern boundary of the Angli, appears from Bede to have been the Firth of Forth. For, in describing the result of the unsuccessful expedition of the Angli under Ecrith, into the territory of the Picts, in the year 684, he has the following passage: "Ex quo tempore spes cœpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, et retro sublapsa referri. Nam et *Picti terram possessionis suæ quam tenuerunt Angli et Scoti qui erant in Britannia et Britonum quoque pars nonnulla libertatem receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta et sex.*"² Now the southern boundary of the Picts was at that time the Firth of Forth, for he adds immediately after, that the monastery of Abercorn was "in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat;" and his expression "quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter *quadraginta et sex,*" shews that no change had taken place, but that it had continued to be the southern boundary of the Picts till the year 731, which is just *forty-six* years after the event he was narrating.

The German ocean, and the Pentland Firth, were at that time the eastern and northern boundaries of the Picts. **Eastern and Northern Boundary.** The Welsh Triads describe them as extending along the sea of Lochlin, or the German ocean. Adomnan mentions Lochness and the River Ness as being "in Provincia Pictorum," near which also he places the palace of the Pictish

¹ Bede, b. 5, c. ult.² Bede, b. 4, c. 26.

king converted by St. Columba. That they possessed the extreme north of Britain is also clear from Nennius, who in describing Britain says, "Tertia insula sita est in extremo limite orbis Britanniae *ultra Pictos* et vocatur Orcania insula;"¹ and that they still possessed these territories as late as the eighth century is proved from the life of St. Findan, written in the ninth century, where the author relates that the saint was carried away captive from Ireland by the Norwegian pirates in the end of the eighth century, and adds "ad quasdam venire insulas juxta Pictorum gentem quas Orcades vocant."²

**Western
boundary.**

The western boundary of the Picts appears at all times to have been, partly a ridge of hills, termed Drumalban, which separated them from the Scots, as the southern part of the boundary, and as the northern part the sea from the Linne Loch to Cape Wrath. Thus the Scottish chronicles invariably mention that Fergus the First, King of the Scots, ruled over the districts extending from *Drumalban* to

Drumalban.

Innisgall, or the Hebrides. Adomnan, who wrote in the beginning of the seventh century, mentions the Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae "quos utrosque dorsi montes Britannici disterminant;" and in talking of the Picts, he invariably describes them as being "*ultra dorsum Britanniae.*" The phrase dorsum Brittanniæ used by him is plainly a mere Latin translation of the Gaelic word Drumalban.

Tighernac implies that the same mountain-ridge was their mutual boundary in the year 717, in which year he mentions the expulsion of the Monks of Iona by King Nectan, "trans dorsum Britanniae." The Chronicon Rythmicum mentions the Scots as having inhabited "*ultra Drumalban*" till the reign of Kenneth. It thus appears that Drumalban, or the dorsum Britanniae was the invariable boundary of the Picts and Scots, south of the Linne Loch, from the year 503 down to the eighth century. There is no range of hills now bearing this name, but we find it frequently mentioned in older writers. The earliest description of Scotland which contains any allusion to its mountain ranges is entitled "*De situ Albaniae quæ in se figuram hominis habet,*" and is supposed to have been written by Giraldus Cambrensis,

¹ Nennius, c. 2.

² Goldasti Aleman. rerum Script.
Vita Findani, p. 318.

about the year 1180. This work describes Scotland (which name at that period was applied only to the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde) as resembling in form that of a man. The head of the figure lay in Arregathel, the mountains of which he says resemble the head and neck of a man; the body consisted of that chain which is called Mound, and which he describes as reaching from the western sea to the eastern; the arms were those mountains "*qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregathel*;" the legs, the two rivers Tay and Spey. After this description he adds, "*inter crura hujus hominis sunt Enegus et Mœrne citra montem, et ultra montem aliæ terræ inter Spe et montem.*" From this description it would seem that he considered that there were but two remarkable chains in Scotland, "*mons qui Mound vocatur*," and "*montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregathel*." The locality of the first of these chains is perfectly distinct from his description, for he tells us that part of it formed the northern boundary of "*Enegus et Mœrne*," a range which to the present day bears the name of "The Mounth." The other part extended to the western sea, and must therefore be the western part of the same chain which divides the county of Inverness from the counties of Perth and Argyll, and which is now termed Drumuachdar. The other chain, viz. the "*montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregathel*," are described as forming the arms of the figure, and must therefore have consisted of two ridges, the one branching from the Mounth, on the south, and the other on the north. As it appears, however, in describing the seven parts into which Scotland was of old divided, that Athol is named as one of them, it is plain that the western boundary of the southern part of Argyll was at that time the same as it is now, and therefore the southern branch of the "*montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregathel*" must be the same with that chain of hills which runs from Benauler on the north-west corner of Perthshire to the head of Loch Long, and which to this day separates the county of Argyll from the district of Atholl and the counties of Perth and Dumbarton. But this very chain is called by the same author Bruinalban, for in afterwards describing these seven parts of Scotland, of which he had formerly given the names (though with some variation), he mentions that division which corresponds with

Atholl and Goërin, as extending "a Spe usque ad Montem Bruinalban." The Bruinalban of this writer appears, from the following circumstances, to have been synonymous with the Drumalban of others; for while Giraldus concludes his description with the words, "Fergus filius Eric ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albanie a monte *Bruinalban* usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inche Gall,"¹ the same passage is found in other chronicles in the following words: "Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albanie; *i.e.*, a monte *Drumalban* usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inche Gall;"² and "Fergus filius Erth primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra *Drumalban* usque Sluaghmuner et ad Inche Gall."³

The name of Drumalban was known even at a much later period than this, for it occurs in the Regiam Magistatem; and also in the history of the Bishops of Dunkeld, in both of which it appears as certainly applied to the same chain. The passage in the Regiam Magistatem as translated by Sir John Skene is as follows:—"2. And gif he quha is accused of the cattell, or anie other thing thifteously stolen or reft, alledges anie man for his warrant dwelling betwixt Forth and *Drumalbane*, he quha is challenged sall have fifteen days to produce his warrant before the sheref; whilk warrant dwells within the said bounds.—3. And gif anie dwell beyond thir places or bounds in Murray, Ross, Caithness, Argyll, or in Kintyre, he sall have all the fifteen days, and also ane moneth to bring and produce all his warants."

He thus divides Scotland, which is afterwards defined as "the partes of the realme benorth the water of Forth," into two parts, the one extending from the Forth to Drumalbane, and the other lying beyond "thir bounds;" and containing Murray, Ross, Caithness, and Argyll. His Drumalbane, therefore, can refer only to that chain of hills which forms the present eastern boundary of Argyllshire. The history of the Bishops of Dunkeld evidently places Drumalbane in the same place, for Atholl and Drumalbane are mentioned as forming one of the decanatu of that bishopric. Since, then, the name of Drumalbane existed,

¹ Innea, App. No. 1.² Innes, App. No. 4.³ Chron. San. Andree.

and was known as applied to a particular range of hills at so late a period, we may conclude with safety, that the descriptions of it given by Buchanan, Monypenny and others, applied to a range of hills well known at the time under that name, and were not merely speculations as to the locality of a name which had ceased to be used. The great distinguishing feature applied to Drumalbane by these authorities is, that it divides the rivers flowing into the western sea from those flowing into the eastern, —a peculiarity which belongs only to a long range of hills commencing at Loch Long, and running up the centre of the island until it is lost among the mountains of Caithness, and of which that chain already alluded to as separating the counties of Perth and Argyll forms the southern part. As an additional corroboration of this, Buchanan mentions that the River Earn takes its rise from it, and that in fact it was merely the highest part of Breadalbane.

The southern part of the western boundary of the Picts was therefore evidently the same with the present western boundary of Perthshire and Inverness-shire. The remaining and northern part of their western boundary appears to have been the sea from the Linne Loch to Cape Wrath, and this is a part of the boundary which it is of considerable importance for us to determine, as it involves the question of the possession of those districts which extend from Caithness to the Linne Loch, and comprise the western parts of the counties of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, and the northern part of the county of Argyll.

From all the notices which I have been able to collect, it appears that these districts, *at all times*, belonged to the Picts. In the first place it may be inferred from the ancient chronicles, that Dalriada did not originally extend beyond the Linne Loch, for they divide Dalriada among the three brothers who are said to have conducted the Scots from Ireland. The eldest obtained Lorn; the second, Argyll Proper and Kintyre; while the youngest obtained Isla. And this division is fully corroborated by the Irish Annalists, who mention the descendants of these brothers frequently, and always in the same districts as they are placed by the Scottish Chronicles. In the second place, independently even of this argument, we have the direct testimony of Bede, that these districts were possessed by the Picts from

the time of St. Columba to the year 731, when he finishes his history. He mentions that Oswald, the King of the Angli of Northumberland, wishing to Christianize his subjects, sent to the Scots requesting them to supply him with a Monk for that purpose; and that in consequence of this request, Aidan, a monk of the monastery of Hy or Iona, left that island and went to him. After which, he adds the following passage—"Quæ videlicet insula ad jus quidem Britannię pertinet non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione *Pictorum* qui *illas Britannię plagas incolunt* jamdudum Monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis predicantibus fidem Christi perceperunt."¹ Thus shewing not only that Iona was in the Pictish territories in the days of St. Columba, but that they actually possessed and inhabited the neighbouring districts of Britain in his own time, that is, in the eighth century. A testimony so direct and positive as this to the existence of a fact in his own lifetime, and at the very time he is writing, it is impossible by any reasoning or criticism to overcome. But Bede is not the only one who asserts this fact; Walafrid Strabo, in his life of St. Blaithmac, asserts the same, although at a period some years later. He opens his poem with these words:—

"Insula *Pictorum* quædam monstratur *in oris*
Fluctivago suspensa salo cognomine *Eo*."

But if the Picts thus possessed the districts extending to the western sea opposite Iona, and since we have distinct evidence of their inhabiting the northern shore of Scotland, it would seem incredible to suppose that they did not also possess the intervening districts. We can hardly imagine that the Scottish nation were thus as it were divided into two by the Pictish tribes, or that a small portion of them could exist unmolested in the very heart of their powerful enemies, and completely cut off from the rest of the Scots in Britain, as well as from the Irish. We must therefore conclude, that the Picts inhabited the whole of the districts lying to the north of the Linne Loch, a circumstance corroborated by the language of Bede, who mentions the Picts in general terms as inhabiting the "*Septentrionales plagas Britannię*."

¹ Bede, b. 3, c. 3.

We have thus shewn by an incontrovertible chain of authorities, that in the year 731, the period at which Bede closes his history, the territories of the Pictish nation consisted of the present counties of Kinross, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the northern part of Argyll; in fact, the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of Southern Argyll.

The Firth of Clyde is universally allowed to have been the boundary which separated the Dalriads from the Strathclyde Britons, and consequently it follows that *Dalriada*, or the territory of the Scots in Britain, *must have been confined to South Argyll*, or that part of the county lying to the south of Linne Loch; and the Scots appear to have maintained their possession of a territory so inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Picts, partly by the strong natural boundaries and impervious nature of the country itself, and partly by the close connexion which they at all times preserved with the Irish. We shall now proceed, in pursuance of our plan, to investigate shortly the internal state and strength of these nations at the same period.

When the Picts first appear under that appellation upon the stage of history, and when by the frequency of their incursions into the Roman provinces in Britain they attracted the attention of the Roman writers, they are described by them as having been divided into two great nations, *Dicaledones*, and *Vecturiones*. The origin of this division cannot now be traced, but as it apparently did not exist at the time when Ptolemy wrote his geography, it must have owed its origin to circumstances occurring subsequent to that period. In whatever manner, however, it may have originated, this twofold division of the Pictish nation appears to have subsisted at least down to the eighth century. We trace it in Bede as existing in full force in the time of St. Columba, when he mentions that Columba came over "*predicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus Montium jugis ab Australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ. Namque ipsi Australes Picti qui*

intra eosdem montes habent sedes multo ante tempore (ut perhibent) relicto errore idolatriæ fidem veritatis acceperant.”¹

The northern Picts mentioned by Bede, in all probability correspond with the Dicaledones of the Roman authors, for the Dicaledones, from their name, apparently extended along the Deucaledonian or Northern Sea. This distinction of the Pictish nation into the two great tribes of the northern Picts or Dicaledones and southern Picts, or Vecturiones, took its origin probably from incidental circumstances, and was afterwards perpetuated and increased by the difference of religion between them during the period from the conversion of the southern Picts by Ninian, and that of the northern Picts by St. Columba, as well as by the superior progress in civilization, which the prior conversion of the southern Picts would naturally give rise to. The same twofold division of the Picts can be traced subsequent to the time of St. Columba in Tighernac and the other Irish annalists. In Tighernac, we find the Picts sometimes termed Picti, at other times Cruithne and Piccardach: but although the last two are occasionally called Picti, yet we find a marked distinction at all times drawn between them, and occasionally we find them even having kings independent of each other. As an instance, in the year 731, Tighernac mentions a battle “between Brude, the son of Angus, and Talorcan, the son of Congusa. Brude conquers, but Talorcan escapes;” and in 734, we find it mentioned, that Talorcan, the son of Congusa, was taken by his own brother, and given over by him *into the hands of the PICCARDACH*, thus making a complete distinction between the *Piccardach* and the other Picts, of whom Talorcan Mac Congusa was one. Again in 729, Tighernac calls Angus, the father of Brude above-mentioned, “*Ri na Piccardach*,” or King of the Piccardach, while, at that time, Drust was king of the Picts, and Angus did not attain the throne of the Picts till the year 731. We may also remark, that whenever Tighernac has the word Piccardach, the annals of Ulster use the word *Pictores* in Latin, instead of Picti, the name usually applied by them to the Picts. These words Piccardach and *Pictores* have generally been thought synony-

¹ Bede, b. 3, c. 4.

mous with Picti, and a mere error of the transcriber, and they have accordingly been so translated by O'Connor in his edition of these annals; but when we remark the uniformity with which these appellations occur in the two annalists, and with which they are distinguished from the rest of the Picts, and the confusion which such an idea must necessarily introduce both in the chronology and in the succession of the Pictish monarchs, it is impossible to suppose that they are the mere casual blunders of a transcriber.

The similarity of name, and other causes connected with their kings, which we shall afterwards mention, plainly point out the Piccardach of Tighernac to be the same with the Vecturiones of the Romans, and the southern Picts of Bede, and consequently the name of Cruithne, although no doubt occasionally applied to all the Picts, would in its more restricted sense belong to the Dicaledones or northern Picts.

Besides this great division of the Pictish nation into the northern and southern Picts, they were also divided into a number of smaller tribes, whose union together in a sort of permanent confederacy formed the two larger nations. The expressions of Tacitus shew, that when the Romans first appeared in Caledonia, it was inhabited by a number of "Civitates" apparently independent of each other, and the immediate result of the Roman invasion was the union of these tribes for the first time into a strong confederacy, and the election of Galgacus as a general to lead them to battle. In the second century, we again find them divided into a number of small tribes, whose names and situations are given us by Ptolemy. Shortly after this time, the great division into Vecturiones and Dicaledones took place, but that division did not, it would seem, make any change in the constitution of the Pictish nation as a confederacy of small tribes, or even produce a more close connexion between them.

From this period, the existence of the smaller tribes which composed the Pictish nations, can be sufficiently traced in Bede and the Irish annalists. Thus Bede appears to allude to these tribes under the appellation of "Provinciæ," when, on one occasion, he mentions the "*Universas Provincias Pictorum*," and in another, the "*Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum*."

Smaller tribes
of the Picts.

In the following passages of Tighernac and the annals of Ulster, particular tribes of the Picts also appear to be mentioned :

- A.D. 666. Eochaigh Iarlaithe Ri *Cruithne Midhi* mortuus est.
 — 668. Navigatio filiorum Gartnaidh ad Hiberniam cum *plebe Scith*.
 — 670. Venit *gens Gartnaidh de Hibernia*.
 — 739. Talorcan mac Drostan Rex *Athfolla*.
 — 752. Cath a Sreith in *terra Circi*.

The territories of the Dalriads, as we have already seen, consisted of the southern half of Argyllshire and the Island of Isla, and they seem at all times to have been divided into no more than three tribes, namely, the Genus Loarn, Genus Comgal, and Genus Gabran. The districts inhabited by these tribes can also be pretty nearly ascertained from these annals. The name points out the district of Lorn as the possession of the Genus Loarn. Argyll and Kintyre belonged to the Genus Gabran, for Duncan Begg, who is mentioned by Tighernac in 719 as leading that tribe, is called by him in 721 Rincina tire, or King of Kintyre. While the present district of Cowall, which is in old MSS. always termed Comgaill, points itself out as the seat of the Genus Comgaill. These tribes of the Dalriads, however, must not be viewed in the same light as the Pictish tribes, because the tribes of the Picts, although they possessed a common origin, yet had been for a long course of time separated from each other; they possessed independent chiefs of their own, and were connected together only by the necessity of having a common head for the sake of their mutual safety. The Dalriadic tribes, on the contrary, had a much closer connexion; they formed but one nation, had sprung from the original stock within a very few generations, and were, therefore, united together by the ties of affinity and relationship as well as those of common origin and of policy.

The only point which now remains for us to examine before we can proceed to determine the causes which led to the union of all these nations, under the rule of Kenneth Mac Alpin, are the principles which regulated the succession to the throne among them.

Dalriads
divided into
three tribes.

Rules of suc-
cession among
the tribes.

On examining the line of Pictish kings, as contained in our ancient chronicles, we cannot fail to observe one great peculiarity, namely, that hereditary succession to the throne, appears to have been wholly unknown to them even so late as the ninth century. We occasionally find a king succeeded by his brother, but in no instance by his son; and in general, each king appears to be totally unconnected with his predecessor. But that some rule of succession existed among them is apparent from the testimony of Bede, who states, that the Picts on their first landing agreed, "*ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fœminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent,*" and adds, "*quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.*" From this passage of Bede we may infer, first, that the Picts elected their monarchs; and, secondly, that the election was not unlimited in its range, but was confined to some specific class of individuals, otherwise it could not come into doubt; and thirdly, that when there did exist a doubt as to the proper object of the election, they chose that person most nearly related to the former king by the female line.

Now there appears from Adomnan to have existed among the Picts a division of the people into *Nobiles* and *Plebei*,¹ and the account given by Tacitus of the election of Galgacus, plainly indicates that it was to the Nobile genus alone that this privilege of being chosen to fill the Pictish throne belonged.² We have already seen that besides the great two-fold division of the Picts into Dicaledones and Vecturiones, they also at all times consisted of a number of small tribes; we have also remarked that it appears from Tacitus and from the notices of these tribes formerly given from Tighernac, that they were originally independent of each other, and that they possessed chiefs of their own to whom alone they owed obedience, although they were frequently led by considerations of mutual safety to unite under a common head. When we consider these facts,

¹ *Quendam de Nobili Pictorum genere.*
—Adom., b. 2, c. 24. Illo in tempore
quo Sanctus Columba in Pictorum pro-
vincia per aliquot demorabatur dies,

quidam cum tota *plebeius* familia.—
Adom., b. 2, c. 33.

² *Inter plures duces virtute et genere
præstans nomine Galgacus.*—Tacit.
Vita Agric.

it must appear evident that it was these chiefs alone who could be elected kings of the Picts, for it cannot for a moment be supposed that if the whole nation was divided into tribes subject respectively to the authority of their chiefs, that they would suffer any one of inferior rank to themselves to fill the Pictish throne. This view is confirmed by the expression of Tacitus with regard to Galgacus, that he was "*inter plures duces virtute et genere præstans*," and still more strongly by the following passages of Tighernac:

A.D. 713. *Tolarg Mac Drostan* ligatus apud *fratrem suum Nectan regem*.

— 739. *Tolarcan Mac Drostan*, REX ATFOTLA a bathadh la Aengus (drowned by Angus).

Thus Tolarg Mac Drostan, the brother of Nectan, the king of the Picts, appears after his brother's death, and during the reign of Angus, as king of Athol, and consequently Nectan must have been chief of Athol before he became king of the Picts. What the peculiar rule was which regulated the election of these chiefs to the Pictish throne, and on what occasions that rule failed so as to bring the affair "in dubium," it is impossible now to determine; but from the authorities which we have mentioned we may conclude, first, that the privilege of being elected monarch of the Picts, was confined exclusively to the hereditary chiefs of the different tribes into which that nation was divided, and, secondly, that whenever that election was involved in doubt, the chief most nearly related to the last king by the female line was chosen.

Such a mode of succession as this, however, was not calculated to last; each chief who in this manner obtained the Pictish throne, would endeavour to perpetuate the succession in his own family, and the power and talent of some chief would at length enable him to effect this object and to change the rule of election into that of hereditary succession. This object appears in reality to have been finally accomplished by Constantin, the son of Fergus, who ascended the Pictish throne towards the end of the eighth century, and in whose family the monarchy remained for some time.

Such, then, being the principles which regulated the succession to the Pictish throne, it may be well to enquire whether the

same rule of election applied to the chiefs of the different tribes as well as to the monarch of the whole nation. The fact of the regal succession of the Picts being so peculiar does not in itself by any means lead to the inference that the same principles must have regulated the succession of the chiefs, for it is plain that this peculiarity assumed its form, not from the general principles of succession having always been so, but from the fact of the Picts having been rather an association of small and independent tribes united only by similarity of origin and language, and for purposes of mutual safety, than one compact nation. Consequently no argument drawn from the nature of the succession to an office of no distant origin, and one produced by adventitious circumstances, can affect the question as to the nature of succession in general, which must have existed from the beginning, and which it is scarcely possible that circumstances can alter. Whatever was the nature of the succession among the chiefs, we may infer with great probability that when one of these chiefs succeeded in perpetuating the succession to the throne in his own tribe, the mode of succession introduced by him must have been that previously existing in his own tribe. This was effected for the first time by Constantin, who commenced his reign anno 791. He was succeeded by his brother Angus. Angus was succeeded by Drust the son of Constantin, and Drust by Uen the son of Angus. We see here, that though this was strictly a male succession, yet that in several points it differs from our ordinary rules of male succession. Thus it seems to have been a fixed rule among the Picts that brothers in all cases succeeded before sons; this is observable in the catalogues of the Pictish kings, and also in the only instance we possess of succession to the government of a tribe when Nectan is succeeded in Atholl by his brother, Talorg. Secondly, after all the brothers had succeeded, the children of the elder brother were called to the succession; and, thirdly, as in the case before us, in their failure the sons of the second brother succeeded, and so forth.

Among the Dalriads the rules of succession to the government of the different tribes appear to have been very much the same; this is evident upon referring to the genealogies of the Dalriadic kings, and it would be needless to multiply examples.

With regard to the succession to the command of the Dalriadic nation, that appears originally to have been governed by the same rule as that of the single tribes, and it afterwards became so frequently the subject of contention, that in general the most powerful at the time obtained the supremacy.

Such, then, is a general view of these nations in the year 731. The Picts, we have seen, were by far the most powerful of the different nations inhabiting North Britain; they possessed the whole of Scotland proper, or Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the southern part of Argyllshire, which was occupied by the Dalriads; although divided into numerous tribes, they were united under the rule of one monarch, and while part of the nation had made considerable progress in civilization, and therefore may be supposed less inured to warfare, the other part possessed all the hardihood and constitutional bravery of a mountain people. The Dalriads, on the contrary, were of far less power; they occupied a small and mountainous district, and apparently owed their existence in the heart of the Pictish tribes to the strength of their natural barriers, the poverty of their country, and their alliance with Ireland, and perhaps also to the policy with which they took advantage of the jealousies and rivalry between the two great nations of the Picts.

In the ninth century we find the state of Scotland very different; the whole country was then united under the government of one monarch, hereditary succession was firmly established, the once formidable name of Picti gradually disappearing, and the name of Scotia and Scotti, formerly confined to so small a portion of the island, rapidly spreading over the whole country. It must unquestionably have been a series of events of no small importance which could have given rise to a revolution so remarkable.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCOTTISH CONQUEST—ITS EFFECTS DID NOT EXTEND TO THE NORTHERN PICTS, BUT WERE CONFINED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE SOUTHERN PICTS, OR PICTS INHABITING THE LOWLANDS—THE NORTHERN PICTS WERE ALTOGETHER UNAFFECTED BY THAT CONQUEST, AND REMAINED IN SOME DEGREE INDEPENDENT OF THE SCOTTISH DYNASTY, WHICH THEN BEGAN TO RULE OVER THE GREATER PART OF SCOTLAND.

HAVING now examined, at some length, the internal state and constitution of the different tribes inhabiting Scotland in the year 731, and ascertained their relative position, we shall be better enabled to determine the nature and extent of the singular revolution which took place in the ninth century. In doing this we are unfortunately deprived of the usual mode of ascertaining an historical point, as the silence of the best authorities for the history of this period, and the fables of the other historians, have left us no distinct authority for the nature of the event. It is still possible, however, in a point of this nature, to make a considerable approximation to the truth, by reasoning as well from the natural consequences of the events which we know to have happened previously to the revolution as from the condition of the country after it. Either of these modes of reasoning in themselves would afford a strong presumption that the conclusion to which we are brought by them, was probably the true one, but if the result of both accurately coincides, we are then warranted in concluding that we have made the nearest approximation to the truth, which it is possible to attain regarding the nature of a revolution occurring at so very distant a period.

No distinct authority regarding the Scottish conquest.

Can only be ascertained by two modes of reasoning.

In the first place, then, we shall ascertain the principal events of the history of Scotland, between the year 731 and that in

which the Scottish conquest is said to have taken place, and by arguing from the effects likely to have resulted from them, form a conclusion as to what the nature of that revolution must have been. The record of these events is principally to be found in the Irish Annals.

First, from the natural consequences of previous events.

A D. 731.
Reign of
Angus, king
of the Picts.

His conquests.

In the year 731, Angus Mac Fergus, as he is styled by the Annalists, commenced a reign of thirty years over the Pictish nation. By a continued course of victory, and the gradual subjugation of every opponent, he had in the year 729 raised himself to the command of the *Piccardach* or southern Picts, to which division of the nation he belonged; and finally, in the year 731, by the conquest of Talorgan Mac Congusa, his last opponent, he obtained the throne of the whole Pictish nation. From the opposition which Angus met with, and from the number of opponents with whom he had to contend, it would seem that originally he possessed but a doubtful title to the throne; and that he owed his success rather to his own power and talents than to the support of any of the other Pictish chiefs. After he had in the year 729 overcome all opposition among the southern Picts, his efforts were directed entirely against the *Cruithne* or northern Picts; and it would appear from the constant succession of attacks, to which he was subjected during his reign from that nation, that they strenuously opposed his right to the throne. Angus at length succeeded in subduing their opposition, and it is quite clear, from the Irish Annalists, that the immediate result of his success and rapidly increasing power was, as might be expected from the character of the Celts, a league between the principal tribes of the northern Picts and the Dalriads or Scots of Argyll, who were ever ready for war with their Pictish enemies.

Produced a
league be-
tween the
northern
Picts and
Dalriads.

When Angus Mac Fergus commenced his reign over the Picts, Eocha, the son of Eochaigh of the line of Gabran, ruled over the Dalraids. On his death in 733, the line of Loarn obtained the superiority in Dalriada in the person of Muredach, the son of Aincellach, and it was immediately on the commencement of his reign that this league appears to have been formed, for in the same year, Dungal, the son of Selvach, and consequently

his cousin, made a sudden descent upon the monastery of Tory Island, surprised Brude, the son of Angus, the Pictish king, who was there at the time, and in defiance of the monasterial privileges carried him off. This act of treachery was revenged in the following year by Angus, who undertook an expedition into the Dalriadic territories. When on his march for that purpose, Talorcan Mac Congusa, by whose conquest Angus had obtained the Pictish throne, was delivered up to him by his own brother, and was immediately drowned. Angus then penetrated into the district of Lorn, where he was attacked near the foot of

Defeat of
northern
Picts and
Dalriada

Dunolly by Talorcan Mac Drusten, the king of Atholl. Talorcan, however, was defeated and taken prisoner, and some years afterwards shared the same fate with Talorcan Mac Congusa. Angus then returned to Dunleithfin, a fort upon the banks of the river Leven, which he destroyed, and Dungal, being wounded in its defence, was obliged to fly to Ireland from his power. Angus thus, by the same vigour and success which had marked his previous career, crushed this formidable union.

Two years after this, Dungal again returned to Scotland, having, in all probability, received assistance from Ireland, and Angus once more made preparations for invading Dalriada. His formidable army was divided into two parts; with the one he himself laid waste the whole of Dalriada, burnt the fort of Dūnadd, carried off an immense booty, and cast the two sons of Selvac, Dungal and Feradach, into chains. In the meantime, his brother, Talorcan, opposed Muredach, the king of Dalriada, with the other division of the army, and a battle was fought between them on the banks of the Linne Loch, in which Talorcan was victorious, and Muredach was obliged to fly.

Whether the northern Picts were engaged in this second attempt, it is impossible to determine, but Angus seems to have firmly established his power by the event, and to have, for the time, completely crushed the power of the Dalriads.¹

¹ For this short detail of the events which occurred subsequent to 731, the reader is referred to the accurate copies of Tighernac and the Annals of Ulster, printed by O'Connor, in which the authorities for the various events here stated will be found under the

different years in which they are said to have occurred. The author cannot resist calling the attention of the reader to the valuable addition which an examination of these important Annals in the original makes to the history of this period.

A.D. 786.
Conquest
of Dalriada.

With this year commences a very remarkable difference between the various chronicles of the Dalriadic kings. These chronicles consist of what are generally termed the Latin Lists or Chronicles of several of the Scottish monasteries written in the twelfth century ; and of the Albanic Duan, a work composed in the year 1050, and consequently the oldest and best authority for the list of their kings. These various lists agree in general down to the flight of Muredach, and whenever there is any discrepancy between them, the Albanic Duan is invariably supported by Tighernac, and the Ulster Annals. After Muredach, however, they differ altogether, and the two lists are as follows.

ALBANIC DUAN.		LATIN LISTS.	
	Years.		Years.
<i>Muredh</i>	3	<i>Muredach</i>	3
<i>Aodh na Ardflaith</i> ,	30	<i>Ewen</i>	5
<i>Domnall</i>	24	<i>Múredach</i>	3
<i>Conaill</i>	2	<i>Ewen</i>	3
<i>Conaill</i>	4	<i>Hedalus</i>	30
<i>Constantin</i>	9	<i>Fergus</i>	3
<i>Aongus</i>	9	<i>Selvad</i>	21
<i>Aodha</i>	4		
<i>Eoganan</i>	13	<i>Eogan</i>	30
<i>Dungal</i>	7	<i>Dūngal</i>	7
<i>Alpin</i>	4	<i>Alpin</i>	4
<i>Kenneth Mac Alpin</i>	109	<i>Kenneth Mac Alpin</i>	109

On comparing these two lists it will be observed that they both agree as to the reign of Muredach, and that after him they differ altogether, both in the names and number of the kings, until they come to Eoganan, where they once more agree during the last three reigns. The antiquity of the Albanic Duan, and the fact that the amount of the reigns of the different kings mentioned by it make up exactly the interval between the reign of Muredach and that of Kenneth, precludes the possibility of that part of the list not being authentic ; while at the same time the number and accordance of the Latin Lists obliges us to receive their catalogue also as genuine ; consequently, the only supposition which can be made is, that between the reigns of

Muredach and Eoganan, there existed in Dalriada two independent lines of princes, and that these two lines were once more united in the person of Eoganan, after he had reigned seventeen years in one part of the Dalriadic territories.

Two of the kings contained in the Latin Lists during this period are to be found in the Irish Annals: in 778 they mention the death of Edfin Mac Eachach, *Ri Dalriada*, and in 781 the death of Fergus Mac Eachach, *Ri Dalriada*. From this it would appear that the kings of the Latin Lists were the kings of Dalriada, properly speaking, and not those of the Albanic Duan, and also that they were descended from Eachach, who reigned over Dalriada in 726, and who was a Scot, of the tribe

Pictish
princes in
Dalriada.

of Gabran. The question then comes to be, who were the kings said by the Albanic Duan to be reigning in Dalriada during this period? Aodh, the first of them, could not, from the period of his reign, have been the same person with Edfin, as is generally supposed; and the fact that Aodh commenced his reign in the very year that the Pictish monarch, as we have seen, overran Dalriada, and conquered the whole district of Lorn, affords a strong presumption that he must have been put there by the Pictish king, and that he ruled over the Pictish possessions in Dalriada. This presumption is placed almost beyond a doubt, by the Annals of Ulster, where we find, in 749, "The burning of Cillemoire of Aidan, the son of Angus." Aodh could not have been of the line of Lorn, for the first of the proper kings of Dalriada during this period, as given by the Latin Lists, is Ewen, the son of Muredach, of that line. He could not have been of the line of Fergus, for Ewen is succeeded, in the thirteenth year of Aodh's reign, by Edfin of Fergus line; and when during the reign of Aodh we find Cillemoire, a place in Lorn, actually in possession of a person of the same name, and when that person is described as the son of *Angus*, shortly after the district of Lorn had been conquered by *Angus*, king of the Picts, we must hold it to establish beyond a doubt, that Aodh, or Aidan, was the son of Angus Mac Fergus, king of the Picts, and that he was the first of a line of Pictish princes who ruled over the Pictish possessions in Dalriada.

The two lines of kings reigning at the same time in Dalriada

unite, as we have seen, in the person of Eoganan, whose reign in the Latin Lists is made to extend to thirty years, and in the Albanic Duan to only thirteen. He would appear, consequently, to have been one of the kings of Dalriada, of the Scottish line,

*Recovery of
Dalriada by
the Scots.*

and to have recovered possession of the territories which had been wrested from his ancestors by Angus in 736. This undertaking he apparently accomplished by the assistance of the Irish. The seventeenth year of his reign, or that in which he obtained possession of the whole of Dalriada, will fall about the year 819, and in that very year the Annals of Inisfallen mention the death or slaughter of Aid, king of Ireland, while fighting in Alban, or Scotland; and in another part of the same annals he is mentioned as having been killed at the battle of *Drum*; thus plainly indicating that he assisted the Dalriads in recovering their ancient possessions, and that he was himself slain after they had pushed their success as far as the Drum, or Drumalban, the original boundary between the Picts and Scots.

The events which took place between the conquest of part of Dalriada by the Picts in 736, and its recovery by the Dalraids in 819, are not numerous.

*Second league
between the
northern Picts
and Dalraids,
and their de-
feat.*

In 741 the northern Picts appear once more to have leagued with the Dalriadic Scots, and to have slain one of the Pictish princes on the side of Angus Mac Fergus, which aggression was immediately followed by the attack and total defeat of the Dalriads.

In 749 Cillemoire, the residence of the Pictish prince in Lorn, was burnt, probably by Edfin, the Dalriadic king.

*Death of
Angus,
King of the
Picts.*

In 761 died Angus Mac Fergus, certainly the most powerful king the Picts ever had. He raised the southern Picts to a great superiority in Scotland.

He defeated the northern Picts, and brought these turbulent tribes under his subjection. He almost annihilated the Scots of Dalriada; and yet it was his power and his victories which laid the germs of that revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Pictish influence in Scotland.

Angus was succeeded by his brother Brude, who reigned only two years. After Brude's death the northern Picts appear

to have regained their strength sufficiently to enable them to place Kenneth, a chief of that race, upon the throne, although they were opposed by Aodh, the son of Angus and chief of the Piccardach. Kenneth was succeeded by Elpin, but it is uncertain whether he was of the northern or southern Picts. He was succeeded by Drust, son of Talorcan, who was probably the same as Talorcan, the king of Atholl, and therefore a northern Pict. Drust was succeeded by Talorcan, son of the famous Angus, and he again, after a reign of two years and a half, by Conall, the son of Tarla or Tadhg, who reigned five years.

From the death of Angus, in the year 761, down to this period, there seems to have been a constant struggle between the northern and southern Picts for the superiority, the two races being apparently alternately successful, for a king of the one race generally succeeds one of the other down to the reign of Conall, when the southern Picts under Constantin Mac Fergus, a descendant of Angus, succeeded once more in obtaining the pre-eminence which they had had under Angus.

In 789 a battle was fought between Conall and Constantin, in which Constantin was victorious, although Conall succeeded in making his escape. During a long reign of thirty years Constantin established the power of the southern Picts so firmly that he was enabled to transmit the crown to his posterity, and thus introduce hereditary succession to the throne for the first time among the Picts. Conall, on his defeat by Constantin,

Third league
between the
northern
Picts and
Dalriada.

appears to have adopted the usual policy of the northern Picts, and immediately to have entered into a league with the Dalriadic Scots; for we find him in 807 fighting in Dalriada, having attacked the possessions of the southern Picts in that territory, although unsuccessfully, as he was killed in Kintyre by Conall, the son of Aidan, the Pictish prince there.

Their defeat.

In 819, the Dalriads at last prevailed, after so many unsuccessful attempts, in recovering the territory which had been wrested from them by the southern Picts, and their success was principally owing to the assistance of the Irish Monarch,

although there can be little doubt that the northern Picts would on that occasion be faithful to those allies by whom they had been so frequently assisted.

In 839, Uen, the last king of the Picts of the line of Constantin, was killed by the Danes, and with him the power of the southern Picts again declined.¹ The only fact which is at all known with certainty after this date, is the death of Alpin, king of Dalriada in Galloway, after he had overrun and nearly destroyed that province;² and the chronicles are altogether silent until we find his son Kenneth in the undisturbed possession of the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

Such being a short outline of the events which occurred between the year 731 and the Scottish conquest, so far as they can be ascertained from the more authentic annalists, it will now be proper to proceed to the first line of argument by which the true character of that conquest can be established, namely, by arguing from the natural consequences of these events, and the change which they were calculated to produce in the relative situation of the different nations which at that time inhabited Scotland.

The accession of power by the southern Picts on three occasions having forced the northern Picts into league with the Dalriada against them, a fourth attempt would have the same result.

First.—We have seen that the pre-eminent power to which the Piccardach or southern Picts attained under Angus Mac Fergus, had the immediate effect of causing the northern Picts to offer every opposition to that power, and to take every opportunity of rendering themselves independent of them—an object, which, although they were unsuccessful during the life of Angus, they accomplished after his death, and even succeeded in placing two monarchs of their own race upon the Pictish throne.

We have also seen that the very same cause under Constantin Mac Fergus and his brother Angus, fifty years later, produced the very same effect of causing the revolt of the northern Picts; and that although they were equally unsuccessful during the lives of these two princes, yet during the reign of Drust, son of Constantin, who succeeded Angus, they appear as indepen-

¹ See Note, p. 32.

² Register of St. Andrews

dent, and governed by a king of their own of the name of Talorcan, according to the Pictish chronicle.

Such having been the result of the great accession of power obtained by the southern Picts upon three several occasions, it is to be presumed that when upon the death of Uen, the last king of the line of Fergus, the southern Picts attempted for the fourth time to assert their superiority, and to put forward a king of their own race, the northern Picts would oppose them to the utmost of their power, and would endeavour, as they had done thrice before under similar circumstances, to render themselves altogether independent of the southern division of the race. But when we find that immediately after the death of Uen, the southern Picts were engaged in contest with Alpin, the Dalriadic king, and that they were unable to prevent his conquering Galloway, one of their principal provinces, we may infer that the northern Picts had been successful in their fourth attempt, and consequently that at the date of the Scottish conquest, they were perfectly independent of, and unconnected with the southern Picts.

Second.—Further, it has been seen that on the three several occasions when the power and superiority attained by the southern Picts under Angus Mac Fergus, and afterwards under Constantin, drove the northern Picts into revolt, they were not content with merely endeavouring to render themselves independent, but actually leagued with the Dalriadic Scots in active opposition to the Piccardachs; on the first two occasions, when we find the king of the northern district of Atholl fighting along with the Dalriads against Angus, the Pictish king; and on the third occasion, when we find that Conall Mac Tadhg, the king of the race of the northern Picts whom Constantin drove from the throne, was killed by the Pictish Prince of Lorn while fighting in *Kintyre*, and therefore assisting the Scots of Dalriada. It is but reasonable to infer, that when the power of the southern Picts drove them for the fourth time into revolt, they would again join the Scots in opposition to the Piccardachs, and would assist them in their final and successful attempt. Again, the great object of the Piccardach princes was apparently to perpetuate the succession to the Pictish crown in their own family, and the northern Picts appear to have constantly opposed that

object, and consequently to have upheld the ancient Pictish mode of succession by the female line. Now, as from the name of Alpin, and those of his descendants, it is plain that the Dalriadic king must have been connected with the Picts by the female line, it is natural to suppose that the northern Picts would support the heir to the Pictish crown according to the ancient system of succession, rather than to permit the introduction of hereditary succession in the line of the southern Picts, and the consequent increase of their power, even although that support should have the effect of placing a foreign family upon the throne.

It is manifest, then, that if the Cruithne or northern Picts were altogether independent of the southern Picts at the time of the conquest, and if they even actually assisted the Dalriadic Scots in that conquest, they would themselves remain unaffected by its results, and instead of suffering from the success of that invasion, would even in all probability obtain an accession of territory.

Such is the conclusion to which we are brought by this mode of argument; but there is still another mode by which the nature and intent of this revolution may be ascertained. We know the exact state and internal condition of the different tribes in 731: by contrasting with this the situation of the same tribes after the alleged conquest, it is manifest that we may deduce from their condition after that event the probable nature of the revolution which produced so great a change.

Second mode of argument, by contrasting the situation of the tribes after the conquest, with their condition in 731.

From this contrast we obtain the following results:—

First.—In the year 731, Scotland was inhabited by two distinct nations, the Picts, and the Dalriadic Scots. These nations were independent of each other, and were governed by independent lines of princes. After the year 843, we find the whole of Scotland under the government of one monarch; it therefore necessarily follows, either that these two nations were united into one, or that the one reduced the other under its dominion.

Second.—As we find that after the year 843 there was but one king over Scotland, and as we find that the succession to the throne was purely hereditary, it is manifest that the monarch

must have been descended either from the Scottish or the Pictish line. But the name of Scotland appears never to have been applied to North Britain before that date, but rather to have subsequently extended itself gradually over the whole country, and to have at last superseded the more ancient appellation of Albion or Albania. It is consequently to be inferred that the later kings were of the Scottish race, and that the Scots had obtained a preponderance over the Picts; besides this inference, which results naturally from the argument, the whole authorities for the early history of Scotland concur in establishing the fact, that Kenneth, the first monarch who ruled over the whole country, was of the Scottish race.

Third.—When we consider that the name of Scotland did not spread rapidly over the country, but that it was many centuries before that appellation comprehended the whole of Scotland, and also that the first four or five kings of the line of Kenneth are termed by the Irish annalists kings of the *Picts*, and not of the Scots, or of Scotland, we must infer that the effects produced by the conquest did not extend to the whole of the Picts, but that a very considerable part of them must have remained altogether unaffected by the invasion, and that the name of Scotland must have spread over the country, rather from the fact of its kings being derived from that race, and of their political pre-eminence, than from an actual subjugation of all the Pictish tribes, as feigned by the Scottish historians; a theory the absurdity of which it is impossible not to perceive, if we look at the state of Scotland in 731, and the very great superiority of the Picts over the Scots in power, extent of territory, and in numbers.

Fourth.—If we find, subsequent to the year 843, or the date of the supposed conquest, any part of the Pictish nation appearing as a body, under a peculiar national name, and apparently distinguished by that name from the rest of Scotland, it is manifest that that tribe could have formed no part of the Scottish conquest, and must have retained their territory and their independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of the rest of the country. But we find from the Irish annalists, that as late as the year 865, the northern Picts appear as a distinct

people from the rest of Scotland, under their ancient and peculiar name of *Cruithen tuath*, or *Cruithne of the North*. We must consequently conclude that the Cruithne were not affected by the conquest, but remained a peculiar and distinct people for many years afterwards. The northern Picts, however, are not the only exceptions; for the Strath Clyde Britons exhibit a parallel instance of the same thing. They are frequently mentioned after the date of the conquest, by their peculiar national appellation. And we know from history that they were not included in the conquest, but remained for a long period independent, and under the government of their own kings.

Not only, however, do the northern Picts appear as a distinct body under their peculiar appellation of Cruithne, as late as the year 865, but we even find that their territories, consisting of the whole of Scotland north of the Grampians, *retained the appellation of Pictavia* as late as the year 894. This appears very clear from the Pictish Chronicle, for in 865, when the annals of Ulster mention that the Northmen ravaged the Cruithen tuath, or northern Picts, the Pictish Chronicle, in relating the same event, uses the expression Pictavia, instead of Cruithen tuath. Afterwards, in 894, the Pictish Chronicle mentions that the Norwegians conquered *Pictavia*, but we know from the Norse Sagas that this conquest was confined to the country north of the Grampians. Wherever the Norwegians ravaged other parts of the country, the Pictish Chronicle invariably uses the expression Albania instead of Pictavia. If the northern Picts appear as a distinct people, retaining their ancient appellation so late as the year 865, and if their territories also retained the name of Pictavia as late as the end of the ninth century, it is evident that that territory could not have been comprised within those conquered by the Scots, and that the name of Scotland must have spread over that part of the country from other causes than that of conquest.

This result is confirmed by all the native writers of Scotland, who invariably confine the Scottish conquest to the country south of the Grampians, although they err in supposing that the country north of that range had been previously in possession of the Scots.

The result
of both
modes of
argument,
that the
Scots con-
quered the
southern
Picts only.

Upon comparing, therefore, the results obtained by the two lines of argument which we have followed, we find them to coincide so very remarkably with each other, that we cannot, in the absence of express authority regarding the nature of this revolution, come to any other conclusion, than that we have made the nearest possible approximation to the truth, and that from a strict analysis of all the facts known, either preceding or subsequent to that event, and of the inferences deducible from them, it appears that the conquest by the Dalriadic Scots was confined exclusively to the Piccardach or southern Picts—that the Scots were assisted in that conquest by the Cruithne or northern Picts—and that after the conquest, the *northern Picts*, although they owed a nominal submission to the kings of the Scottish line, *yet remained in fact independent, and still retained their ancient territories and peculiar designation.*

This view of the conquest is strongly corroborated by the testimony of Nennius, who mentions that in the fifth century a colony of Jutes under Octa and Ebussa, settled on the north of the “*Mare fresicum id est quod inter nos Scotosque est usque ad confinia Pictorum.*”¹ Whatever may be the truth with regard to this colony, the clear inference from this passage is, that fifteen years after the Scottish conquest, or in 858, when Nennius wrote, the Scots occupied the country immediately north of the Firth of Forth, and the Picts lay beyond them, and were separated from them by a distinct boundary. In other words, the Scots occupied the territories previously possessed by the southern Picts, while the northern Picts remained untouched; and this view is likewise supported by the only facts regarding the war immediately preceding that event, which are to be found in the ancient chronicles.

Alpin's attack appears, from the register of St. Andrews, to have been confined to Galloway, a province of the *southern* Picts; and it is expressly said by that chronicle, that it was his conquest of that territory which transferred the kingdom of the Picts to the Scots. Kenneth, his son, apparently fought but one battle, and that battle took place, according to the same

¹ Nennius, c. 37.

chronicle, at Forteviot, in the very heart of the territory of the southern Picts.

The origin of the fable of the subjugation and even extermination of the whole Pictish nation, is probably to be found in the circumstance, that the southern Picts were known by the peculiar name of Piccardach or Picts proper, a name which never occurs after the date of the conquest, while the northern Picts have the appellation of Cruithne, under which name they appear as late as the year 865, and thus those events which originally belonged to the Piccardach or Picts proper only, were afterwards, when both names had long ceased to be used, naturally extended to the whole Pictish nation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTHERN PICTS CALLED THEMSELVES GAEL, SPOKE THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, AND WERE THE REAL ANCESTORS OF THE MODERN HIGHLANDERS.

IN the preceding chapter it has been shewn that the revolution in 843, generally termed the Scottish conquest, made no alteration whatever in the state of the inhabitants of the northern mountainous part of Scotland, but that its effects were confined exclusively to the southern and lowland districts. This important point being established, we come now more immediately to the question of the origin of the modern Highlanders, or the Gaelic race at present inhabiting these mountains. From the remarks which have been previously made on the early history of Scotland, it is plain the Highlanders must have been either the descendants of the northern Picts, or of the Scots of Dalriada who conquered the southern Picts, or else we must suppose there to have been a different people from either of these nations, and that they had entered the country subsequently to the Scottish conquest; for these three suppositions manifestly exhaust all the theories which can be formed on the subject of their origin. The second of these theories is the one which has generally been maintained by historians, and the traditions at present current among the Highlanders themselves would rather support the latter. In another part of this work, the descent of the modern Highland clans from the Gaelic race which inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries will be fully shewn. But the present chapter will be devoted to the proof of the simple fact, that the Gaelic race were the descendants of the inhabitants of the same district in the ninth century, and consequently of the northern Picts. It would be inconsistent with the limits of this work to enter into an examination of the other two hypotheses, and it would als

be unnecessary, for it is evident that if I am successful in establishing this great fact, the reputed origin of the Highlanders from the Scots, whether of Dalriada or of Ireland, as well as all the other systems which have been maintained, must be equally false.

Descent of
the High-
landers
from the
northern
Picts.

The descent of the Highlanders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from the northern Picts of the ninth, may be proved in two ways :—First, by shewing that the northern Picts spoke the same language and bore the same national appellation as the Highlanders, and when we add to this the fact, that they inhabited the same territories at no very great distance of time, the presumption will be very strong that they must have been the same people. Secondly, by tracing the Highlanders up to the northern Picts, and by shewing such a connexion between these two nations as to render it impossible that any foreign people could have settled in the Highlands between these periods.

Gaelic the
language of
the Picts.

In the first place, they spoke the same language, and were known among themselves by the same national name. It is well known that the language spoken by the Highlanders of Scotland is a dialect of that great branch of the Celtic languages termed the “Gaelic,” and that the people using that language have always termed themselves Gael, while the Highlanders as belonging to that branch of the Celtic race designate themselves sometimes as Gael and sometimes Albanaich or Gael Albanaich. These facts are admitted by every one.

The Welsh
Triads.

The first proof which I shall bring that the Picts were a Gaelic race, and spoke a dialect of the Gaelic language, is from the Welsh Triads. The Triads appear distinctly to have been written previous to the Scottish conquest in the ninth century, and they mention among the three usurping tribes of Britain the “*Gwyddyl Ffichti*,” and add immediately afterwards, “and these Gwyddyl Ffichti are in Alban, along the shore of the sea of Llychlyn.” In another place, among the treacherous tribes of Britain, the same Triads mention the “*Gwyddyl coch o'r Werddon a ddaethant in Alban*,” that is “the Red Gwyddyl from Ireland, who came into Alban,” plainly alluding to the Dalriads, who were an Irish

colony, and who have been acknowledged by all to have been a Gaelic race. It will be observed from these passages that the Welsh Triads, certainly the oldest and most unexceptionable authority on the subject, apply the same term of Gwyddyl to the Picts and to the Dalriads, and consequently they must have been of the same race, and the Picts a Gaelic people. Farther, the Welsh word "Gwyddyl," by which they distinguish that race, has been declared by all the best authorities to be exactly synonymous with the word Gael, the name by which the Highlanders have at all times been distinguished, and the Welsh words "Gwyddyl Ffichti" cannot be interpreted to mean anything else than "THE GAELIC PICTS," or "PICTISH GAEL."¹

Besides the passage above quoted, the Triads frequently mention the Picts, and at all times with the word "Gwyddyl" prefixed. Caradoc of Nantgarvan, a Welsh writer of the twelfth century, also frequently mentions the Picts by this title of "Gwyddyl Ffichti," or Gaelic Picts.

But the Welsh writers are not the only authorities who prove the Picts to have spoken Gaelic, for a native writer of the seventh century, and one who from his residence in the north of Scotland must have been well acquainted with their language, furnishes the most incontrovertible evidence that that language was a dialect of the Gaelic. Adomnan, it is well known, wrote the Life of Saint Columba in the seventh century, at a time when the Picts were at the height of their power. On one occasion he mentions that when Columba was in Skye, a *Gentile* old man, as he always terms the Picts, came to him, and having been converted, was baptized in that island. He then adds this passage: "qui hodieque in ora cernitur maritima fluviusque ejusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat *ex nomine ejus* DOBUR *Artbranani* usque in hodiernum nominatus diem ab *accolis* vocitatus."² It so happens, however, that "*Dobur*" in Gaelic means "a well," and that it is a word altogether peculiar to that language, and not to be found in any other. It has been fully proved in a

¹ It may be mentioned that these passages are taken from the *originals* in Welch, as published in that inval-

able work the Welsh Archæology.

² Adomnan, b. 1, c. 33.

preceding chapter, in discussing the extent of the Pictish territories, that the inhabitants of Skye must at that time have been Picts, and consequently it will follow of necessity from this passage that they used the Gaelic language.

It may be proper here to notice an argument which has been frequently drawn from Adomnan, that the Picts and Scots must have spoken languages very different from each other. It has been urged as a conclusive argument by those who assert the language of the Picts to have been a Teutonic dialect, that on several occasions when Columba, who was an Irish Scot, addressed the Picts, he is described by Adomnan as using an *interpreter*. Now, although Columba is very frequently mentioned as conversing with the Picts, there are but two occasions on which any such expression is used,¹ and in both passages the expression of Adomnan is exactly the same, viz. :—"Verbo Dei per interpretatorem recepto." It will be remarked, that Adomnan does not say that Columba used an interpreter in conversing with the Picts, but merely that he interpreted or explained the word of God, that is, the Bible, which being written in Latin, would doubtless require to be interpreted to them; and the very distinction which is made by Adomnan, who never uses this expression when Columba addresses the Picts, but *only* when he reads the word of God to them, proves clearly that they must have understood each other without difficulty, and that there could have been but little difference of language between the two nations of Picts and Scots.

**Topography
of the coun-
try.**

The third proof which I shall adduce to show that the Picts spoke a Gaelic dialect, and perhaps the strongest of all, is derived from the topography of the country. The territories of the Picts, as we have shewn in a preceding chapter, consisted of the whole of Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the southern parts of Argyll. It has never been disputed that the names of the places in general throughout this territory can admit of being derived from some Celtic dialect only, and that those in the Highlands are exclusively Gaelic; even Pinkerton has confessedly failed altogether in his attempt to discover

¹ Adomnan, b. 2, c. 33, 12.

Teutonic etymologies for the topography of the country. It would therefore be but a waste of time to prove an assertion which has been so generally admitted; and it will only be necessary here to notice two objections which have been made to the conclusion to which we are naturally led by this fact, viz. :—that the Picts, who at all times inhabited the greater part of the north of Scotland, must have been a Gaelic people.

In the first place, it has been said that there is a clear distinction perceptible between the names of places in the Highlands and those in the eastern or Lowland part of the country, and that while the former are unquestionably Gaelic, the latter can be traced to the Kymric or Welsh dialect only. From this supposed distinction, one author¹ concludes that the country must have been inhabited by British tribes before the arrival of the Caledonians or Picts, who are considered by him as of Teutonic origin; and another author² infers, from the same fact, that the Picts themselves were of Cymric or British descent. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than the premises from which these conclusions are drawn; for an attentive examination of the topography of the two divisions of the country will shew that there is no difference whatever between the elements which compose the names of the natural features in both, and that those in the Lowlands are as purely Gaelic as those in the Highlands.

The words which are principally dwelt upon as affording proof of a Welsh derivation are those syllables, *Aber*, *For*, *Pit*, *Lan*, *Strath*, &c., which so frequently enter into the composition of the names of places in Scotland. Now, nothing more will be requisite than to refer to the best Gaelic dictionaries, in order to shew that all these words are as purely Gaelic as they are Welsh; and a map of the Highlands will prove distinctly that they are to be found as constantly occurring in the one part of the country as in the other.³

¹ Pinkerton.

² Chalmers.

³ The first of these words is the one which has been principally made use of in this argument, and it has been always assumed that *Aber* is a Welsh

word corresponding exactly with the Gaelic word *Inver*, and that they are used synonymously in the different parts of Scotland. The best mode of ascertaining to what language a word properly belongs is by reducing that word to its primitives, and in whatever

The second objection which has been made to the conclusion is a more serious one, for it has been asserted by one writer with great confidence, that the topography of Scotland has changed, and that the Gaelic names so universal over the country were introduced by the Scottish conquest in the ninth century. Of such a change of nomenclature he has, after much research, produced one solitary example. To this it might be a sufficient answer to remark, that history shews us that a change of population rarely if ever produces any change in the topography of the country, and that in particular no change is perceptible in Scotland during the last eight centuries, although the Lowlanders, a Teutonic race, have been in possession of the country which was previously inhabited by a Celtic race. But a still stronger answer will be found in the fact that a considerable number of the names of places in the Pictish territories *previous* to the Scottish conquest, have come down to us in the ancient chronicles, and that these names are invariably retained in the present day, and are of pure Gaelic origin. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the Pictish Chronicle. That ancient chronicle, in mentioning the foundation of the Church of Abernethy, describes the boundaries of the territory ceded to the Culdees by the Pictish king as having been "a lapide in *Apurfeirt* usque ad lapidem juxta *Cairfuil*, id est Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad *Athan*." It is plain from the style of this passage that these names were used at that very time, and it is a remarkable fact that the same places are still known by these names, although slightly corrupted into those of Apurfarg, Carpow, and Ayton, and that the words are unquestionably Gaelic. It may also be remarked that the "*Cairfuil id est Lethfoss*" is exactly parallel to the instance so

language these primitives are found, it is from that dialect that the word must be held to have sprung. Now the Gaelic word *inver* is well known to be composed of the preposition *ann* and the primitive word *bior*, signifying water; but it is quite plain that that word *bior* also enters into the composition of the word *aber*, which is formed by the addition of the Gaelic

word *ath*, signifying a ford, and consequently, according to the rules of philology, we must consider *aber* to be a Gaelic word; a fact which is asserted in the latest and best Gaelic dictionaries. With regard to all these disputed words, reference is made to the excellent Gaelic Dictionary published by the Highland Society of Scotland.

triumphantly adduced by the author above alluded to,¹ and shews that a place may from various circumstances have two names, both of which can be traced to the same language. It will be unnecessary to produce other instances in proof of the fact that the names of places have almost universally remained unaltered to the present day from a very early period. A perusal of Adomnan's life of St. Columba will of itself be sufficient to establish the fact in respect of Scottish topography, and numerous examples will be found in other sources. These three proofs then which we have brought forward suffice to shew that the Picts must have spoken a Gaelic dialect, and form a body of evidence much stronger than any which can generally be adduced regarding the language of a nation of which no written memorial has come down to us.

Albani the
national
appellation
of the Picts.

With regard to their national appellation, it may be remarked that besides the evidence of the Welsh Triads, the Pictish Chronicle shows that they were known in the ninth century by the name of Gael. That chronicle mentions, in the reign of Donald, the brother and successor of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the following circumstance :—"In hujus tempore jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdachi fecerunt *Goedeli* cum rege suo in Fothuirtabaict." The kingdom of Edus or Edfin was, it is well known, the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada prior to the conquest. Now, if by the word Goedeli the Scots are meant, it is impossible to conceive how they could come to enact laws which were already the laws of their kingdom. The manner in which the passage is expressed plainly indicates that the Goedeli were different altogether from the regnum Edi, and that the Goedeli were enacting the laws of a kingdom different from their own. The transaction has also plainly the appearance of a species of treaty or compact between the Goedeli on the one hand and the king on the other. We know that the regnum Edi was the Scottish kingdom, and that Donald, at that time king, was of Scottish lineage, and a descendant of Edfin. The only mode by which an intelligible construction can be put upon this passage, is to suppose that the Goedeli here refers to the Picts, and that the Pictish Chronicle is

¹ "Inverin qui fuit Aberin."—Chalmers.

describing a solemn agreement between the Picts and the Scottish king, by which they submitted themselves to him, and adopted many of the laws of the Scottish kingdom. Besides the general name of Gael, the Picts also, as well as the Highlanders, used the name of Albani or Albanaich; and an instance of this will be found in the descriptions given by the ancient Saxon writers of the Battle of the Standard in the year 1136, where the Picts of Galloway, who were placed in the front of the army, are mentioned, in charging the enemy, to have shouted as their war-cry, "Albanich, Albanich!"

When we consider that the northern Picts have been proved to have inhabited the whole of the Highlands, with the exception of southern Argyll, even as late as the end of the ninth century, and that the Scottish conquest did not produce any change either in their situation or in their territories; and that it has also been proved that these northern Picts spoke the Gaelic language, and bore the appellation of Gael and Albanich as well as the Highlanders, the presumption is very strong indeed that they must have been the same people, and one which it would require evidence of no ordinary force to overturn. But

The Highlanders can be traced back to the period when the northern Picts were in possession of their country.

in the second place, there is still another proof which remains to be adduced in order to show that the Highlanders were the descendants of the northern Picts, and that is, to trace the Highlanders as in possession of the Highlands as far back as we can, until we arrive at a period in which we had previously found the northern Picts inhabiting the same country; and thus the impossibility of the Highland clans having been descended from any other nation, would be evident.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the north of Scotland, which at that time was unquestionably inhabited by a Gaelic race, was divided into several great districts; the principal of which were the districts of Athol, Moray, Ross, Garmoran, Mar, and Buchan. During this period also, we find, in the ancient chronicles, and in the Irish Annalists, very frequent mention made of certain persons bearing the title of Maormors, and generally acting an important part in the various events of Scottish history. It is of the greatest consequence for the due understanding of the history

The Maormors.

of this period, as will appear in the sequel, to ascertain exactly the nature of that title, and of the territorial divisions of Scotland at the time; and fortunately these ancient authorities have left us sufficient materials for that purpose. A comparison of the different facts recorded regarding that office, will lead to the following results.

First.—The office of Maormor appears to have been next in dignity and power to that of the king; thus, the Annals of Ulster, in describing one of the numerous battles which took place between the Scots and the Danes in the tenth century, add “that many of the Scots were killed, but that neither king nor *Maormor* of them were lost in the conflict.”¹ Besides this, the Pictish Chronicle frequently records the death of some of the Maormors as well as that of the king.

Second.—We always find the title of Maormor associated and connected with one or other of the great districts into which Scotland was at that time divided; thus, the Annals of Ulster mention the Maormor of Moray,—the Pictish Chronicle, the Maormors of Angus, Atholl, &c.—the Annals of Innisfallen, the Maormor of Mar; and that connexion was apparently so close and intimate, as to enable them at times to wage independent war with the king of Scotland himself.

Third.—Every notice regarding the succession of the Maormors which has reached us, proves that they observed a rule of succession strictly hereditary. Of this many examples might be given, but perhaps the strongest will be found in the succession of the Maormors of Moray.

In 1032, the Annals of Ulster mention the death of Gilcomgain Mac Maolbride, Maormor of Mureve. Afterwards in 1058, they have the death of Lulac Mac *Gilcomgan*, king of Scotland; and in 1085, the death of Maolsnechtan Mac *Lulach*, king or Maormor of Mureve. Here we see that although one of the Maormors of Moray had obtained possession of the throne of Scotland, yet on his being driven from that prominent station, his son appears as Maormor of Moray. The history of the same family also shews very clearly that the succession to the dignity of Maormor was strictly a male

¹ An. Ult. ad an. 917.

succession, for in the beginning of the eleventh century we find Malcolm Mac Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, in possession of the throne of Scotland ; and although it appears from the Sagas, that Sigurd, earl of Orkney, married Malcolm's daughter, and that on Malcolm's death, Thorfinn, earl of Orkney, his grandson, was his nearest heir according to feudal principles, yet we find that he was succeeded in Moray by his brother Gilcomgan Mac Maolbride, to whose posterity also his claim to the throne of Scotland descended.

Fourth.—Not only were the Maormors so intimately connected with the great districts of Scotland as to shew that they must have possessed in them considerable power and extent of territory, but they also appear as the hereditary leaders of great tribes, as well as the hereditary governors of these districts. For in the year 1020, Tighernac mentions the death of Finlay Mac Ruairi, *Maormor of the Clan Croeb*, or sons of Croeb, by the children of his *brother Maolbride*. This is a very important fact, for it shews that the Gaelic population of the north of Scotland was divided into great tribes, corresponding to the great territorial divisions of the country ; and that over each of these tribes, the Maormor of the district was hereditary lord, and consequently it follows from this fact, that the Maormors were of the same race with the people whom they governed.

Fifth.—Further, this title of Maormor was quite peculiar to the Gaelic people, who at this period inhabited Scotland. It is impossible, on examining the history of this early period, to avoid being struck with this fact, and the remark has accordingly been very generally made by the later historians. It was altogether unknown among the Irish, although they were also a Gaelic people ; for although Tighernac frequently mentions Maormors of Alban as being engaged in many of the feuds in Ireland, yet we never find that title given by any of the Annalists to an Irish chief. In Britain the title was confined to the north of Scotland, and although many of the Saxon and Norman barons and other foreigners obtained extensive territories in Scotland, and even at an early period not unfrequently succeeded by marriage to the possessions and powers of some of the Maormors, yet we never find them appearing under that title. From this it is plain, that whenever we find a person bearing the title of

Maormor, we may conclude that that person was chief of some tribe of the Gaelic race which inhabited the northern districts of Scotland at this period.

Sixth.—The great territorial divisions of Scotland, the chiefs of which were termed Maormors, appear in the Norse Sagas under two names, Riki and Iarldom, of which the former was more peculiarly and exclusively applied to them. Thus, on one occasion it is said, that Sigurd had these Rikis in Scotland, Ros, Sutherland, Moray, and Dala. But Sigurd was also in possession of Caithness, which having belonged to the Norwegians for a long time, was not governed by a Maormor, and as that district is not included under the term Riki, it is plain that that term was applied only to the Maormorships, if I may so call them. With regard to the other term, *Iarldom*, the Orkneyinga Saga mentions, that Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, died possessed of the Hebrides, a great extent of territory in Ireland, and nine Iarldoms in Scotland; by these Iarldoms, the Maormorships only can be meant, and it will be observed, that in narrating the possessions of Thorfinn, that term is applied to the districts on the mainland of Scotland only. The Maormors themselves appear in the Norse Sagas under one name only, that of *Scotajarl*, and there is good reason for thinking that that title was applied to them exclusively.

From the preceding observations upon the nature of the title of Maormor, and of the territorial divisions of Scotland in the eleventh century, we see that at that period the Gaelic inhabitants of the north of Scotland were divided into several great tribes, which corresponded exactly with the great territorial divisions of the country. We also see, that the Maormors of the different districts were the hereditary and native chiefs of these great tribes, and that that title was altogether peculiar to the Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland. The history of these Maormors, then, becomes a very important medium for ascertaining the earlier history of the Highlanders; for, whenever we find any of the northern chiefs mentioned in the history of Scotland as having this title, we may conclude with certainty, that the northern districts were at that time inhabited by the same Gaelic race whom we find in possession of them in the eleventh century. Independently of this, the particular history of some of the Maormors

affords distinct evidence that the Highlanders inhabited the north of Scotland as far back as the middle of the tenth century, for the line of the Maormors of Moray can be distinctly traced as in possession of that district from the end of the eleventh century up to that period. The Maormors of Atholl also can be traced as far back, though not by such strong evidence as those of Moray, and likewise those of Mar.

In the preceding chapter, it has been seen that there is distinct evidence of the possession of the Highlands by the northern Picts as late as the conquest of Thorstein, in the year 894; there is consequently a period of but fifty-six years between the last notice of the northern Picts and the earliest period to which the line of the particular Maormors can be traced, and any revolution by which the Highlanders, if they were a foreign race, could have obtained possession of the north of Scotland, must have taken place during that short period of fifty-six years. But we find mention made of the Maormors of Scotland at a much earlier period than even this; for the annals of Ulster mention them as holding the rank next to the king in the year 917. It is quite impossible to suppose, that during the short space of twenty-three years so very great a change could have taken place in the population of the northern districts, and that the northern Picts, who are found in almost independent possession of that part of Scotland, could have, during so short a time, been driven out of their territories, and a new race have come in their place; or that such an event, if it could have happened, would have escaped the notice of every historian. And this conclusion is also very strongly corroborated by the circumstance, that the Norse Sagas and the Irish Annals, which at all times mutually corroborate each other, and which together form the only authentic history of Scotland from the conquest of Thorstein in 894 down to the eleventh century, contain no hint whatever of any change in the population of the north of Scotland; and a perusal of the Sagas, which commence to narrate events in the north of Scotland in the very year in which we find the last mention of the northern Picts, will be sufficient to shew that no event of so very formidable a nature could have occurred without its having been mentioned by them.

The northern
Picts are
the ancestors
of the
Highlanders.

The history of the Maormors of Scotland then, forms a clue by which the Highlanders of the eleventh century can be distinctly traced up to the northern Picts of the ninth century, and when we add to this, the facts that the northern Picts spoke the same language, bore the same national appellation, and inhabited the same territories as the Highlanders did, it is impossible that we can come to any other conclusion than that they were the same people.

Having now concluded the chain of argument by which the true origin of the Highlanders of Scotland has been demonstrated, it will not be improper here to recapitulate shortly the different leading facts which have been established, and by which that origin has been determined.

In the first place.—It has been shewn, that from the earliest period down to the end of the fifth century, that part of Scotland which extends to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, was at all times inhabited by a single nation, termed by the Romans at first Caledonians, and afterwards Picts.

In the second place.—It has been proved, that in the beginning of the sixth century, an Irish colony arrived in Scotland, and obtained possession of the southern part of Argyll, and that during a period of 340 years, the territories and relative situation of the two nations of the Picts and Dalriads remained unaltered.

In the third place.—It has been proved, that during this period the Picts were divided into two great nations, the Dicaledones, Cruithne, or northern Picts, and the Vecturiones, Piccardach, or southern Picts; that the northern Picts inhabited the whole of the mountainous part of the country, with the exception of the Dalriadic territories, consisting of southern Argyll alone, while the southern Picts occupied the plains; that in the year 843, the Dalriadic Scots conquered the Piccardach or southern Picts, *but that their conquest was confined to that branch of the Pictish nation alone*; and that while the northern Picts probably assisted the Dalriadic Scots in that conquest, their situation was, at all events, not in any respect altered by it, but on the contrary, that they *remained in full possession of the north of Scotland*.

In the fourth place.—We have proved that *the northern Picts occupied the whole of the Highlands as late as the end of the ninth century*;—we have shewn that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national name as the Highlanders did;—and lastly, we have traced the Highlanders as in possession of the Highland districts, up to the very period in which we had previously found these districts inhabited by the northern Picts.

These facts then, supported as they are by evidence of no ordinary description, lead us to this simple result, that the Highlands of Scotland have been inhabited by the same nation from the earliest period to the present day. And that while the tribes composing that nation have uniformly styled themselves Gael or Albanich, they have been known to the numerous invaders of the country under the various appellations of Albiones, Caledonii, Picti, Dicaledones, Cruithne, Northern Picts, Reddschankes, Wild Scottis, and Highlanders.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS FROM THE FIRST NORWEGIAN
INVASION OF THAT DISTRICT TO THE ACCESSION OF MALCOLM
KENMORE, AND TO THE TERMINATION OF THE NORWEGIAN
KINGDOM OF THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS.

THE preceding portion of this work has been devoted to a critical examination of the fragments which remain of the early history of Scotland, by which we have been brought to the conclusion, that the Highlanders of Scotland are the descendants of the northern Picts; and in the course of that examination, a view has been given of the leading facts of their history, down to the end of the ninth century. The state of the Highlanders at that period was very different indeed from what it was in the thirteenth century, when the Highland clans first make their appearance in their modern shape. In the ninth century we find them in possession of the whole of the north of Scotland, with the exception of the districts of Fife, Strathern, Angus, and Mearns, while in the thirteenth century they were entirely confined to the mountainous part of the country, and the eastern districts were occupied by a people of Teutonic origin, and speaking a German language. The causes of this change in the population are to be found in the events of Scottish history during the tenth and eleventh centuries; it will therefore be necessary, before proceeding with the history of the Highland clans, to give a rapid sketch of these events, in so far as they affected the state of the Highlands.

The limits of this work must of necessity render that sketch as concise as possible; but it will be proper to premise, that the history contained in the following chapters will be found altogether different from that which has generally been received; which arises from the simple fact, that instead of following the monkish writers, who have given birth to the

fabulous notions of the present day, the author has gone to the only genuine sources of the history of this early period now extant, namely, the Norse Sagas, and the Annalists of Ireland, which, although entirely unconnected, corroborate each other in so remarkable a manner as to leave no doubt of the authenticity of their details.

With the tenth century, the history of the Highlanders of Scotland may, properly speaking, be said to commence. Previously to that period, they appear indeed under their distinctive appellations of Dicaledones, Cruithne, or northern Picts, but still they were not then marked out from the other tribes of Scotland by any peculiarity of manners or of polity;—of their internal condition we know nothing;—and their history in no degree differed from that of Scotland generally.

The conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Argyll, in which, if they were not assisted, at least they were not opposed, by the northern Picts, produced the first remarkable change in the internal state of Scotland. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, from being a powerful and, comparatively, civilized Celtic people, became a mixed race of Picts and Scots; their learning, their civilization, and their very name being lost in the Scottish barbarism with which they were overrun, while the Highlanders found, according to the usual fate of Celtic policy, that, in prosecuting an internal feud, they had placed a more formidable enemy in a situation of power which it was by no means easy for them to resist, and that they had purchased the defeat and ruin of their rival race of southern Picts by the loss of their own independence. The history of Scotland, from the Scottish conquest to the beginning of the tenth century, is principally characterised by the gradual and steady progress of the power and influence of the Scots in the plains of Scotland, and by the resistance of the inhabitants of its mountains to their domination, while both parties were equally exposed to the harassing invasions of the northern pirates. The erection of the Norwegian kingdom of the Isles and Earldom of Orkney, in the end of the ninth century, produced the next change in the internal condition of Scotland, and may be considered as throwing the first distinct light on the history of the Highlands. Previously to

Erection of
the Norwegian kingdom
of the Isles
and Earldom
of Orkney,
A.D. 888.

this period, the ravages of the Norwegian pirates had for some time been incessant, and, in general, successful, yet they had not effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. The summer was spent by them on the seas, ravaging and laying waste wherever they were attracted by the prospect of plunder, while in winter they retired to some of the numerous isles of Scotland, to secure their plunder and recruit their followers. Towards the latter end of the ninth century, however, the pirates who infested these isles, received a great addition to their numbers and strength by the arrival of those Vikings who had unsuccessfully opposed the conquest of Norway by Harald Harfagr, and who preferred a piratical life on the ocean to one of submission to his authority. The facilities of shelter and protection which these islands afforded them, enabled them, by their incessant incursions on the newly erected kingdom of Norway, to harass the conqueror who had expelled them from their country, while, although Harald sent out his fleet every summer to drive them from the islands where they had taken refuge, he found that they merely evaded his force by flying to the open sea, and returned again to these retreats in winter. At length, Harald finding it in vain to protect his newly acquired dominions from the constant incursions of these rovers, determined at once to put an end to their predatory expeditions, by the conquest of the isles which had afforded them shelter and the means of renewing these enterprises. For this purpose, having collected a powerful fleet, he set sail in person from Norway, and proceeding first to the Shetland Isles, he totally subdued them, and drove out the pirates who had there taken refuge. Continuing then his southern course, he reduced to his allegiance the Orkney Isles and Hebrides, concluding an uninterrupted career of victory with the capture of the Isle of Man, which was found deserted; its inhabitants having fled on his approach to the neighbouring coast of Scotland. Here he left a garrison for the maintenance of his authority in these distant isles, and retracing his course towards the north, ravaged the coasts of Scotland as he proceeded. Among the chiefs who had followed Harald in his expedition to the west was Rognwald, the son of Eystein, who had been made Iarl of the Maerians in Norway; he was accom-

panied by his brother Sigurd and his son Ivar, the latter of whom was killed in some one of the many encounters which Harald had with the pirates. In order to recompense the father in some measure for such a loss, Harald, on his return from the Irish seas, proposed to bestow upon Rognwald the isles of Orkney and Shetland, in addition to his former possessions. But Rognwald, finding that such a distant acquisition would bring more trouble than profit, besought Harald's permission to make over the princely gift to his brother Sigurd, who was accordingly installed Iarl of the Orkneys.

Harald had no sooner returned to Norway than the native chiefs of the isles and the neighbouring districts of the mainland, who had been either expelled or subdued by the Norwegian pirates, took advantage of his absence, and of the complete dispersion of the pirates which he had effected, to seize possession of the isles, with the assistance of the Irish, and to revenge themselves for their previous subjection, by the expulsion and slaughter of the Norwegians whom Harald had left to secure the isles. In order effectually to subject the western isles to his authority, and to preclude the possibility of their again becoming a retreat for the pirates, from which they might harass his dominions, Harald determined to adopt the same method which had proved successful with the Orkneys, and with that view he dispatched Ketil, the son of Biorn, chief of Raumsdal, with a powerful fleet, and the title of Iarl, to the Hebrides. Ketil reached the Orkneys in safety, and proceeding thence along the line of the Hebrides, he successfully reduced them under his subjection, the Islesmen apparently having been quite unprepared for the prompt attack of the Norwegians.

No sooner, however, did Ketil find himself in the quiet possession of the western isles, than he determined to throw off his allegiance to the King of Norway; for this purpose he strengthened himself by alliances of every description, both with the native chiefs of the isles and also with several of the pirates themselves, and then sending back to Norway the troops which had established him in his new possessions, he refused to pay the stipulated tribute to Harald, and declared himself independent King of the Hebrides.

But Ketil was not destined long to enjoy his newly erected

kingdom, as he appears to have died a very few years afterwards. On his death the chief authority in the isles was assumed by his son Helgi and his grandson Thorstein the Red, the son of his daughter Audur and Olaf the white, king of Dublin. The native chiefs of the isles seem soon after this to have embraced a favourable opportunity of again throwing off the yoke of the Norwegians altogether; as we find that Helgi left the Hebrides and settled with his adherents in Iceland, while at the same time Thorstein the Red, Ketil's grandson, proceeded in company with his mother to the Orkneys.¹

Sigurd, then Earl of the Orkneys, received Thorstein with hospitality, and forming a close alliance with him, he took advantage of this great accession to his strength, to make a descent in company with his ally upon the northern districts of Scotland. The two pirate kings rapidly made themselves masters of the districts of Kateness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, and their progress southward was only arrested by that part of the great barrier of the Grampians which forms the southern boundary of the district of Marr. The Norse Sagas have recorded the names of two of the Scottish Iarls or Maormors who were slain in this expedition, Meldun and Melbrigda Tonn; the latter of these Maormors appears to have been the last who opposed Sigurd, and was therefore in all probability Maormor of Marr. The death of this Maormor was revenged upon Sigurd in a most remarkable manner, if we are to believe the incident as related in the Norse Sagas. Melbrigda, say these writers, derived his appellation of Tonn from his possessing a very prominent tooth, and Sigurd having slain him in battle, cut off his head and suspended it to the front of his saddle as he galloped over the field of his victory. The violence of the motion occasioned the prominent tooth to inflict a wound on the thigh of the Iarl, which inflamed, produced mortification, and ultimately caused the Iarl's death. He was buried in the territories of him he had slain.²

On the death of Sigurd, his son Guttorm succeeded to him as Earl of Orkney, while Thorstein the Red, retaining possession

¹ Snorro, Orkneyinga Saga, Landnamabok, Laxdaela Saga, Olafs Saga.

² Landnamabok, Olafs Saga, &c.

First Norwegian kingdom in the north of Scotland. A.D. 894-900.

of the conquests of the mainland, assumed the title of king of the half of Scotland. Thorstein had scarcely enjoyed his newly acquired territories for six years when the chiefs of the north of Scotland determined to make an effort for the recovery of the districts which had been wrested from them by the Norwegians. They united together, and under the command of Dungadi or Duncan, the Iarl or Maormor of Caithness, they made a general and simultaneous attack upon Thorstein; a pitched battle ensued, which ended in the defeat and death of
A.D. 900. Thorstein, and the expulsion of the Norwegians from the north of Scotland.¹

Thus terminated the first Norwegian kingdom in the Highlands, which lasted too short a time to have had much effect upon the population. And after this little can be gathered from the Norse writers as to the state of Scotland till the close of the tenth century. Thorfinn, who was Earl of Orkney about the middle of that century, appears to have regained possession of Caithness, but during a long reign, made no other attempt to extend his conquest in Scotland; he had married the daughter of Duncan, the Maormor of Caithness, and in all probability founded a claim to the district from that circumstance; but with the exception of Caithness, the northern chiefs appear from the Sagas to have enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their territories during the whole of this period.

After the kingdom of Thorstein, the Sagas throw somewhat more light upon the internal state of the Highlands. From the first Norwegian conquest under Thorstein to the end of that under Sigurd II., we find frequent mention made of various powerful Scottish chiefs, who universally appear under the Norwegian title of Iarls, but in addition to this we can now distinctly trace the division of the north of Scotland into a number of tribes, possessing considerable extent of territory, whose chiefs or Maormors it was to whom the Norwegians gave the title of Iarl. The people who opposed the invasions of the Norwegians at this period were unquestionably the descendants of the very same people who fought with the Romans many ages before, and who then exhibit the same division into tribes of a similar extent.

¹ Sagas above referred to.

Now, when we consider the rugged and almost inaccessible nature of the northern Highlands, the few circumstances which occurred during the first eight centuries to make any great alteration in the state of its tribes, and the unlikelihood that any political change or event which might take place in a different part of the country, could exercise any great influence over the inhabitants of districts so remote; there is every reason to conclude that the northern tribes would in all probability vary but little in their situation, extent, numbers, or power, from the period of the Roman invasion to the tenth century; and accordingly when we compare the number and situation of the tribes into which the Highlands were divided in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with the minute and accurate account of the Caledonian tribes, given by Ptolemy in the second century, we find that in three particulars only is there the slightest variation between them, and that with these exceptions, the north of Scotland in the eleventh century exhibits the exact counterpart, in the number and extent of its tribes, to the same districts in the second.

The first variation which we observe is in the situation of the two tribes of the Caledonii and the Vacomagi. In Ptolemy's time the Caledonii certainly inhabited the west of Atholl, the district of Badenoch, and the numerous glens which branch out on every side from Lochness, while the Vacomagi possessed a tract of country extending along their eastern frontiers, and embracing the present counties of Nairn and Elgin, the districts of Strathspey, Strathearn, and Marr, and the eastern part of Atholl.

In the eleventh century we find these tribes in a different situation; for the territories occupied by these two tribes now formed the earldoms of Atholl, Moray, and Marr, the ridge of the Mounth or Mound (including Drumnachdar), dividing the former earldom from the two latter.

This is a change which could only have been produced by the sudden seizure of the districts which afterwards formed the earldom of Moray by another tribe, by which these two tribes would be respectively confined to Atholl and Marr; and as the territories of the Taixali still remained unaltered as the earldom of Buchan, probability points to the Canteæ, who lay immediately to the north of the districts in question, as the invading

tribe. Now, it is remarkable that we can distinctly trace this change in the relative position of these tribes at a very early period in the Irish Annals. In the year 666 Tighernac mentions the death of Eacha, *King of the Midland Cruithne*. The Cruithne, we have seen, was the peculiar name of the northern Picts, and as of all the tribes mentioned by Ptolemy that of the Caledonii proper is the only one which could be called Midland, it is plain that these kings of the Midland Cruithne were the chiefs of that tribe. Now, we find a singular change in their title within eighty years after this date, for in 739 Tighernac mentions the death of Talorgan, *King of Atholl*. Atholl was always a part of the territories of the Caledonians proper, and consequently, when we find the chiefs of that tribe preserving their title of king, but changing the designation of Midland Cruithne for the less extended title of Atholl, we can have little difficulty in inferring that they had between these two periods been deprived of the northern portion of their territories, and confined principally to that district. This change is confirmed by our finding distinct evidence of the extension of the eastern tribes towards the west in 668, for at that date Tighernac mentions the departure of the Gens Gartnaidh with the people of Skye for Ireland. The western position of the former tribe is sufficiently indicated by that of the latter, and the coincidence between the departure of that tribe for Ireland, and the loss of their northern districts by the Caledonii, is sufficient to warrant us in concluding that these events were connected, and that the expulsion of the Gens Gartnaidh, and the death of Eacha, the king of the Midland Cruithne, was probably effected by the conquest of the latter together with the Vacomagi by the Canteæ, and the seizure by that tribe of the northern part of their territories. In this way the Vacomagi would be confined to the earldom of Marr, the Caledonii to that of Atholl, while the Canteæ would form the earldom of Moray; and as Tighernac mentions in 670 the return of the Gens Gartnaidh from Ireland, they probably occupied the district previously possessed by the Canteæ, and which afterwards formed the earldom of Ross. The same event will also account for the next variation in the possession of these tribes. In Ptolemy's time the southern division of modern Argyll was inhabited by the Epidii, the

Creones extended from the Linne Loch to Kintail, and the present district of Wester Ross was possessed by the *Carnones*.

In 503 we know that the Dalriads obtained possession of the territories of the Epidii, and it is equally certain that Dalriada did not extend north of the Linne Loch. In 843 we know that the Dalriads left Dalriada and seized possession of the extensive country of the southern Picts, but in the eleventh century we find that the possessions of the Creones still remained a distinct earldom, under the title of Garmoran, while those of the Dalriads and the Carnones appear as forming part of one great district, termed Ergadia or Oirirgael, while individually they were known as Ergadia Borealis and Australis. It is also worthy of notice that Lochaber formed a part of this great district, and in some degree connected the two detached portions.

The name of Argyll, it must be recollected, was not applied to any district of Scotland previous to the Scottish conquest, and consequently it must have arisen by the extension over the whole district of some tribe who had previously inhabited a part. That tribe could not have been the Dalriads, for such an extension would be quite incompatible with their conquest of the southern Picts, and it is difficult to see how their Highland conquest should have assumed such a form, or that the name of Argyll would have been confined to that part of their conquest only.

The Creones remained unaltered, and the only other people who at any time possessed any part of this district are the Carnones, who inhabited Wester Ross, and the Caledonians proper, who must have possessed Lochaber. One or other of these two tribes must, it is plain, have first dispossessed the other, so as to become the sole inhabitants of the northern part of Ergadia; and on the departure of the Dalriads in 843, they must have occupied the vacant territory, and thus extended the name over the whole, for from the detached and arbitrary nature of the districts which were included under the name of Argyll, it is impossible in any other way to account for its application.

Now, it is certainly remarkable, that at the very period when we have ascertained that the tribe of the Caledonii or

Midland Cruithne were driven out of their northern possessions by the Canteæ, and when the conquered portion of the tribe must have taken refuge in other districts, probably to the west, we see an otherwise unaccountable emigration of the Gens Gartnaidh, or inhabitants of Wester Ross, to Ireland. The inference is unavoidable, that the vanquished Caledonians had dispossessed them, and taken possession of their territories. This tribe then, it is plain, inhabited the whole of the great district of Argyll, with the exception of Dalriada; and as at the period of the Scottish conquest in 843 they surrounded Dalriada *on every side*, we can have little hesitation in concluding that they probably obtained possession of the relinquished districts, and extended the name of Argyll over the whole.

Such is the natural deduction from the events obscurely indicated in the Irish Annals, but that the fact was really so is proved by another circumstance.

It will afterwards be shewn, that the jurisdiction attached to each of the Culdee monasteries, was exactly co-extensive with the territories of the tribe in which the monastery was situated, and that these jurisdictions were in number and extent the same with the earliest bishoprics in Scotland. Now, the bishopric of Dunkeld originally consisted just of the district of Atholl and of Argyll, the latter of which was separated from it in A.D. 1200, and formed into an independent diocese. This is sufficient proof that some one tribe possessed at one time both of these districts, and as Atholl was at all times the principal possession of the Midland Cruithne or Caledonians proper, it puts the fact that the name of Argyll was applied to the territories on the west coast, acquired at different times by that tribe, beyond a doubt. The only other change which had taken place in the relative situations of the tribes is, that in place of the two tribes of the Loŭgai and Mertæ, we find the single earldom of Sutherland, and this change is certainly to be attributed to the conquest of the northern districts by Thorstein.

Although the districts of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray are certainly mentioned by the Sagas as forming a part of his kingdom in Scotland, yet it is plain, from the nature of the country and the rapidity with which he overran the whole

of it as far as the Mounth, that that conquest must have comprehended only the eastern and less mountainous parts of these districts. Thorstein retained possession of his conquered territories for six years, and during this period it might be expected that the native tribes inhabiting these districts would be almost driven out—those whose possessions included mountain districts would take refuge there in order to escape the invader, but it is scarcely to be expected that any tribe whose sole possessions were on the coast would escape almost total annihilation.

When the unconquered tribes, however, succeeded in driving the Norwegians out of the country, those who had taken refuge in their mountain recesses would regain possession of that part of their territories which they had lost, while the districts which had belonged to any tribe that had been totally crushed and overwhelmed by the Norwegians, would probably become the possession of the nearest tribe. Now the Lougais was almost the only tribe whose possessions were confined to the coast, and in the numerous Norse accounts of Thorstein's kingdom, we find traces of the extinction of the family of but one of the many Scottish Iarls who opposed him. The Landnamabok mentions the slaughter of Meldun, a Scottish Iarl, and the slavery of his whole family, who did not recover their freedom even on the reconquest of the northern districts by the native chiefs. There can be little doubt from this that the tribe inhabiting the coast of Sutherland had been almost entirely annihilated by the conquest of Thorstein, and that the tribe inhabiting the interior of this district had, on the extinction of the Norwegian kingdom, obtained possession of the whole.

The changes which had taken place in the relative situation of the northern tribes in the second and in the eleventh century, will be more easily understood from the following Table :—

<i>Names of the districts of the 10th century; from the Norse Sagas.</i>	<i>Names of the Tribes inhabiting them; from Ptolemy.</i>
Katanes or Caithness . . .	By the Kournaovioi.
Ness — Durnes and Ed- derachylis.	—— Kairinoi.

*Names of the districts of the
10th century;
from the Norse Sagas.*

*Names of the Tribes inhabiting
them;
from Ptolemy.*

Sudriand — Sutherland, except
Strathnaver.

—— Mertai, The Lougoi
were destroyed by
Thorstein, and the
Mertai occupied the
whole.

Ros — Easter Ross . .

—— Karnones, who were ex-
pelled from Wester
Ross to Ireland, and
two years afterwards
returned and took
possession of Easter
Ross.

—— — Garmoran. . .

—— Kreones.

Myrhaevi — Moray . . .

—— Kanteai, who expelled
the Caledonioi and
Vakomagoi.

Dala — Argyll . . . }

Atjoklar — Atholl . . . }

—— Kaledonioi, who origin-
ally possessed Atholl,
occupied South Argyll
on its relinquishment
by the Dalriads, and
expelled the Karnones
out of North Argyll,
or Wester Ross.

Second Nor-
wegian king-
dom in the
north of Scot-
land. A.D.
986—993.

The second conquest of the north of Scotland by the Norwegians took place towards the end of the tenth century, and was occasioned by an attempt on the part of the Scots to recover possession of Caithness. Finlay, the son of Ruairi, Maormor of Moray, the chiefs of which district were at that time the most powerful in the northern part of Scotland, marched to Caithness with a powerful army, for the purpose of driving the Norwegians out of that district. He was met by Sigurd, then Earl of Orkney, with the whole force of the Orkneys, and after an obstinate engagement Finlay was defeated and obliged to fly. Sigurd, upon this success, immediately overran the whole of the Highlands with his victorious army, and obtained possession, with little difficulty, of the districts of Ross, Moray, Sutherland, and Dala or Argyll. The Celtic inhabitants of these districts,

although, after the total defeat which they had sustained under the Maormor of Moray, they were unable to offer any opposition to the progress of Sigurd, were not disposed to endure the Norwegian yoke long without making an attempt to throw it off. Accordingly, Sigurd had retained possession of the conquered territories for seven years only, when the northern Maormors made a sudden rising, and succeeded in surprising and expelling the Norwegians from the Highlands, and slaying the governor whom the Earl of Orkney had placed over the conquered districts. Sigurd no sooner became aware of this success, than he collected a numerous army among the islands, and at once proceeded to the mainland of Scotland; but he had scarcely landed in Caithness before he was informed that the Gaelic army under Kenneth and Melsnechtan, Maormors of Dala and Ross, was stationed near Duncansbay Head for the purpose of intercepting his progress. Sigurd immediately attacked the Highland army, and succeeded in killing Melsnechtan, one of their leaders, and putting the rest to flight. This success he would in all probability have followed up with the entire destruction of their army, and the recovery of his Highland possessions, had he not learned that Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray and nephew of Finlay, was at that moment approaching with an army too powerful for him to cope with. On receiving this intelligence, Sigurd judged it prudent to retire to the Orkneys, and thus left Malcolm in possession of the disputed districts. By Sigurd's retreat the Highland chiefs gained time to recover complete possession of the whole of the territories which had been for seven years wrested from them, and they established that possession so firmly, that Sigurd was never afterwards able to obtain a footing upon the mainland of Scotland.¹

Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray, by his success in expelling the Norwegians, and by the assistance derived from the extensive territories under his control, as well as by his great personal talent, had now acquired so much power and influence in the north of Scotland that he was enabled to obtain possession of the Scottish throne itself. In what his title to the crown con-

¹ *Olafs Saga, Snorro, Niala Saga.*

sisted, or what was the nature of the claim which he made to it, it is impossible now to determine; but certain it is that he was supported in his attempt by the whole inhabitants of the northern part of Scotland, and in order to obtain the countenance of a people so singularly tenacious of their ancient customs, he must have possessed a stronger claim than what mere power or influence could give him, more especially as his descendants, for many generations afterwards, constantly asserted their right to the throne of Scotland, and as invariably received the assistance of the Celtic portion of its inhabitants. In all probability the Highlanders were attempting to oppose the hereditary succession in the family of Kenneth M'Alpin, and to introduce the more ancient Pictish law. Be this as it may, however,

A.D. 1004. Malcolm, by the defeat and death of Kenneth M'Duff, at Monievaird, became king of Scotland. Shortly after he had mounted the throne, Malcolm effected a reconciliation with Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who married his daughter, and the fruit of this marriage was Thorfinn, who afterwards became the most powerful earl which the Orkneys ever possessed. On Malcolm's death, after a reign of twenty-six years, the Scottish faction, as it may be termed, in opposition to the Pictish or northern party, succeeded in placing a descendant of

A.D. 1029. Kenneth M'Alpin again upon the throne. His name was also Malcolm; he was the son of Kenneth, whom his predecessor had defeated and slain, and is known in the Norse Sagas by the name of Kali Hundason. The second Malcolm had no sooner commenced his reign than he appears to have directed his efforts towards reducing the power of the Norwegians in Scotland; but this was a task to which his strength was by no means equal, for his opponent Thorfinn was a person of no ordinary talents and energy.

On the death of Sigurd, his father, Thorfinn had received from his maternal grandfather, Malcolm, king of Scotland, the district of Caithness, which had so often been the subject of contention between the Norwegians and the Scots, and during Malcolm's life he had obtained every assistance from him in the government of his dominions. Malcolm M'Kenneth therefore determined to make this a pretext for going to war with Thorfinn. With this intention he demanded tribute from him for

the territories which he possessed on the mainland of Scotland, and upon the refusal of the Norwegian earl he gave Caithness to Moddan, his sister's son, and directed him to assume the Norwegian title of Iarl. Moddan accordingly, in consequence of these directions, proceeded to the north, and raised an army in Sutherland for the purpose of taking possession of the district which had thus been bestowed upon him. But the Norwegians who inhabited that district had no sooner heard of his arrival than they immediately assembled under Thorfinn, who was at that time in Caithness, and having been joined by a large force from the Highlands, commanded by Thorkell, the Scots found it necessary to retire, while Thorfinn took advantage of the opportunity to subjugate the districts of Sutherland and Ross, and to ravage the greater part of Scotland. Moddan in the meantime having returned to the king, and having reported to him the ill success of his expedition, Malcolm resolved upon making one great effort to reduce Thorfinn. For this purpose he collected a fleet of eleven ships, and the whole force of the south of Scotland, and dividing his army, he went himself in the fleet towards the north, while he sent Moddan by land with a strong detachment, with the intention of attacking Thorfinn on both sides at once; but scarcely had Malcolm reached the Pentland Firth when he was met by Thorfinn, who had in the meantime retired to the Orkneys, where he had collected a powerful fleet. After a long and fiercely contested engagement the Scottish fleet was completely dispersed, and the king of Scotland, having with difficulty escaped, fled to the Moray Firth, where he once more commenced to levy troops.

Nevertheless, he was speedily followed by Thorfinn, who, having been joined by Thorkell with troops raised by him in the Orkneys, also reached the Moray Firth; but having learnt, so soon as he landed, that Moddan had marched to Caithness with the other division of the Scottish army, and was then at Thurso, he resolved to despatch Thorkell with a part of the army to attack Moddan, while he himself with the rest of his force remained to oppose Malcolm. Thorkell, aware that the inhabitants of Caithness were favourable to the Norwegians, proceeded with such expedition and secrecy that he succeeded in surprising Moddan in Thurso, and having set fire to the town, he slew the

leader and completely dispersed his followers. Having collected additional forces in Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross, Thorkell returned towards the Moray Firth and joined Thorfinn in Moray.

Malcolm in the meantime had once more collected forces, both from the east and west of Scotland, his levies having even extended as far as Kintyre, and having also been joined by a number of Irish auxiliaries who had been invited over by Moddan, he determined to make a final effort for the expulsion of the Norwegians, and marched accordingly with this immense army towards the north in search of Thorfinn. He found the Norwegian earl not the less prepared to meet him, that in numbers he was far inferior. A battle took place between the two hostile races on the southern shore of the Beaully Firth; each party seeming resolved to peril their cause upon the result of this engagement; but the ferocity and determined valour of the Norwegians at length prevailed over the numbers and undisciplined daring of the Scots, and Malcolm was totally defeated, himself killed, and his army almost destroyed. By this defeat the Scots were now left altogether without the means of resistance, and Thorfinn followed up his success by conquering the whole of Scotland as far as the Firth of Tay, and completely subjugating the inhabitants.

The Norwegian Saga gives a strong and powerful picture of the effects of this conquest: "Earl Thorfinn drove the scattered remnants of the Scottish army before him, and subjugated the whole country in his progress, even as far as the district of Fyfe. He then sent Thorkell with a part of the army home, but when the Scots, who had submitted to him, heard that the earl had sent some part of his army away, they attacked him, but unsuccessfully, for Earl Thorfinn no sooner perceived their treachery than he gathered his army together again and met them. The Scots did not attempt to defend themselves, but fled immediately to the woods and deserts. Then Earl Thorfinn, when he had driven the fugitives away, declared that he would burn and lay waste the whole country in revenge for their treachery. His men then spread over the whole conquered country, and burnt every hamlet and farm, so that not a cot remained. Every man that they found they slew, but the old

men and women fled to the deserts and woods, and filled the country with lamentation. Some were driven before the Norwegians and made slaves.

"Thus says Arnor, the earl's skald :

" 'The dwellings were all destroyed,
When he burnt every where, (that day
Danger and death was not wanting,)
As among dry reeds the red flames
Sprung into the kingdom
Of the Scots. The Great
Slayer revenged himself
On the Scots. In one summer
Three times were they
Overcome by the Prince.'

"After this Earl Thorfinn returned to his ships, subjugating the country everywhere in his progress."¹

The Norwegians thus obtained effectual possession of the greater part of the north of Scotland, and their kingdom, which by the talents and energy of Thorfinn they were enabled to retain for *thirty* years, was unparalleled in its extent and duration by any previous or subsequent conquest. Besides the Orkneys, which was their original seat, their possessions in Scotland consisted now of the Hebrides and of nine of the great districts or earldoms of Scotland, which, as far as can be gathered from the Sagas, appear to have been those of Caithness, Ness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Garmoran, Buchan, Marr, and Angus; while to the Scots there remained nothing north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, except the districts of Fyfe, Strathern, Menteith, Gowry, and Lennox, with the two northern districts of Atholl and Argyll.²

Third Norwegian Kingdom in the north of Scotland.
A.D. 1034—1064.

¹ Orkneyinga Saga, Flatey Book.—Tighernac, Annals of Ulster.

It will be observed that the Author has here altogether departed from the generally received history, and that in place of Malcolm II., said to have reigned thirty years, he has placed *two* Malcolms of different families, the first of whom reigned twenty-six and the latter four years. This view

he has adopted in consequence of finding the most remarkable coincidence between the Irish Annals and the Norse Sagas, both of which agree in these particulars.

² All the Norse Sagas are unanimous as to the extraordinary extent of Thorfinn's conquest.

The effects of this conquest seem to have been more particularly felt by the *Scottish* portion of the population, and its immediate result appears to have been the complete extinction of the house of Kenneth Mac Alpin, which for so many generations had filled the Scottish throne, the extirpation of the greater part of the chiefs of the Scottish race, and the termination of that superiority and dominion which they had so long maintained in the Lowlands of Scotland.

But besides the portion of the country occupied by the Scots, a considerable part of the territories of the northern Picts remained unconquered by the Norwegians, while Thorfinn extended his conquests to the banks of the Firth of Tay, and while he effected the utter destruction of the Scottish possessions, even of those districts which he had not overrun with his victorious troops, the district of Atholl and the greater part of Argyll was sufficiently protected by its mountain barriers from his power, and became now the only part of Scotland which could offer any resistance to his progress.

In addition to this, one of its most powerful chiefs had married the daughter of the last king, and his son, who thus added a hereditary right to the throne to the influence which he derived from his power, appears to have been proclaimed king without any opposition, and to have received the unanimous support of all who were still independent of the Norwegian yoke. In personal character Duncan was far from being well fitted for the difficult situation in which he was placed, but being the only chief of the northern Picts who remained unsubdued by the Norwegians, he was the most likely person to preserve the rest of Scotland from their grasp; and during the whole of his reign he appears to have been unmolested by Thorfinn in his circumscribed dominions. The Scots having thus enjoyed, during Duncan's reign, six years of repose, began to consider their strength sufficiently recruited to attempt the recovery of the extensive territories in the north which Thorfinn had conquered. Taking advantage accordingly of the temporary absence of Thorfinn, who was engaged with the greater part of his Norwegian force in an English expedition, Duncan advanced towards the north of Scotland, and succeeded in penetrating as far as the district of Moray without encountering apparently

any resistance. The Gaelic inhabitants of the north, however, who preferred remaining under the Norwegian yoke rather than submit to a chief of their own race whose title to the throne they could not admit, opposed his farther progress, and Macbeth, the Maormor of Moray, attacked him near Elgin, defeated his army, and slew the king himself. Macbeth immediately

A.D. 1040.

took advantage of this success, and assisted by the Norwegian force which still remained in the country, he overran the whole of Scotland, and speedily made himself master of all that had remained unconquered by the Norwegians. The sons of Duncan were obliged to fly; the eldest took refuge at the court of England, while the second fled from the vengeance of Macbeth to the Hebrides, and surrendered to Thorfinn himself. Macbeth, with the sanction probably of the Earl of Orkney, assumed the title of King of Scotland, which he claimed in right of his cousin Malcolm, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Scots he maintained possession of the crown for a period of eighteen years.

Although Macbeth was a native chief and one of the Gaelic Maormors of the north, yet his conquest can only be considered with regard to its effects as a Norwegian conquest. He had previously been tributary to that people, and it was by their assistance principally that he became king of Scotland; so that at this period we may consider the whole country as having been virtually under the dominion of the Norwegians: Thorfinn himself ruling over the northern districts, while with his concurrence Macbeth reigned in the southern half.

During the reign of Macbeth the adherents of the Atholl family made two several attempts to recover possession of the throne, but they were both equally unsuccessful. The first occurred in the year 1045, when Crinan, the father of Duncan, attacked Macbeth at the head of all the adherents of the family in Scotland; Crinan's defeat was total, and the slaughter very great; for in the concise words of the Irish Annalists, "In that battle was slain Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and many with him, viz. nine times twenty heroes." This defeat seems for the time to have completely extinguished Duncan's party in Scotland, and it was not till nine years afterwards that the second attempt was made.

A.D. 1045.

A.D. 1054.

Malcolm, Duncan's eldest son, who had taken refuge in England, obtained from the English king the assistance of a Saxon army, under the command of Siward, the Earl of Northumberland, but although Siward succeeded in wresting Lothian from Macbeth, and in placing Malcolm as king over it, he was unable to obtain any further advantage, and Macbeth still retained the kingdom of Scotland proper, while Malcolm ruled as king over Lothian until, four years afterwards, a more favourable opportunity occurred for renewing the enterprise. The son of the king of Norway, in the course of one of the numerous piratical expeditions which were still undertaken by the Norwegians, had arrived at the Orkneys, and on finding the great state of power to which Thorfinn had raised himself, he proposed that they should join in undertaking an expedition having no less an object than the subjugation of the kingdom of England. To this proposal the enterprising Earl of Orkney at once acceded, and the two sea kings departed for the south with the whole Norwegian force which they could collect. It was not destined, however, that they should even land on the English coast, for their fleet appears to have been dispersed and almost destroyed in a tempest; such was probably at least the calamity which befel the expedition, as the words of the Irish annalist who alone records the event are simply, "but God was against them in that affair."

It appears that the king of England had no sooner become aware of the discomfiture of the threatened invasion of his territories, than he sent an English army into Scotland for the purpose of overthrowing the power of the Norwegians in that country, and of establishing Malcolm Kenmore on his father's throne; and in the absence of the Norwegians the Saxon army was too powerful for the Gaelic force of Macbeth to withstand. The English accordingly made themselves masters of the south of Scotland, and drove Macbeth as far north as Lumphanan, where he was overtaken and slain in battle. Upon the death of Macbeth, Lulach, the son of his cousin Gillcomgain, succeeded him, but after maintaining a struggle with Malcolm for the short space of three months, he also was defeated and slain at Esse, in Strathbolgie. In consequence of this defeat, Malcolm Kenmore obtained, by the assistance of the

A.D. 1058.

English, quiet possession of the throne of Scotland, which his own power and talents enabled him to preserve during the remainder of his life. He was prevented, apparently by the return of Thorfinn, from attempting to recover any part of the northern districts which the Norwegian earl had subjugated, and consequently his territories consisted only of those southern districts which Macbeth had acquired by the defeat of his father Duncan.

From the accession of Malcolm Kenmore to the death of Thorfinn, which took place six years after, the state of Scotland remained unaltered, and the country exhibited the remarkable spectacle of a Gaelic population, one half of which obeyed the rule of a Norwegian earl, while the other half was subdued by a prince of their own race at the head of a Saxon army.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS, FROM THE ACCESSION OF MALCOLM KENMORE TO THE TERMINATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDERS AS A PECULIAR AND DISTINCT PEOPLE, IN THE ABOLITION OF HERITABLE JURISDICTIONS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SHEEP FARMING.

THE Norwegian kingdom of Scotland, which had lasted for thirty years, terminated with the death of Thorfinn in the year 1064; and notwithstanding its great extent and duration, and the important effects which it must have produced upon the population of the country, that kingdom has been most unaccountably passed over in silence by every native historian. The truth of its existence at the same time does not depend upon the authority of the Sagas alone, although that authority would in itself be sufficient to establish with certainty the occurrence of any event at this period; for the ancient Saxon historians, in narrating the events of Siward's campaign against Macbeth, expressly mention that he had to contend against an immense force of Scots and *Northmen*, and that in the battle which ensued, many of the Angles and of the *Danes* fell, distinctly shewing, that at this time the Danes must have possessed a considerable part of the country, and that Siward's expedition was directed against them as well as against the Scots. The extensive possessions of Thorfinn did not upon his death descend to his sons, but, with the exception of their original kingdom in the Orkneys, reverted to the native chiefs, who by hereditary right were entitled to rule over them. "Then many domains which the earl had conquered *fell off*, and their inhabitants sought the protection of those native chiefs who were territorially born ¹

On the death of Thorfinn the earldoms reverted to the native chiefs.

¹ The word *odalborinn*, here translated territorially born, has a much stronger signification, which cannot

properly be expressed in English; it is "*natus ad hæredium avitum, sc. recta linea a primo occupante.*"

to rule over them," are the emphatic words of the Orkneyinga Saga; and there can be no question that that Saga alludes to the earldoms which Thorfinn had conquered in Scotland. This, therefore, is a passage of great importance for the history of the Highlands, for it proves clearly that when Thorfinn's death caused the dismemberment of his kingdom, the great districts of Scotland reverted to the descendants of the Gaelic chiefs who had formerly possessed them, and had a hereditary right to their acquisition, and, consequently, that the Norwegian conquest produced no permanent effect whatever upon the race originally in possession of these territories, or upon the chiefs of the Gaelic tribes in the north of Scotland.

Yet although the Norwegian kingdom did not produce any effect upon the succession of the native chiefs, it is nevertheless possible that a very great change may have taken place on the population of the different districts over which the native chiefs were again enabled to resume their wonted sway; and in estimating the probable extent of such a change, it will be necessary to keep in view that the effects of a Norwegian conquest were frequently very different, according to the nature of the conquered country. In some districts the ancient inhabitants were almost entirely driven out, the country became gradually colonized by Norwegians, and a Norwegian Iarl generally placed over it; while in others, where such a proceeding was more difficult, owing to the impervious nature of the country, the Norwegians usually contented themselves with plundering the district and exacting a tribute from its lord, leaving the ancient inhabitants otherwise in full possession of their territory.

It is plain that in the eastern and more level districts of Scotland, a Norwegian conquest of not less than thirty years' duration could produce no other effect than that of an extensive, and probably a permanent change in the population; and there can be little doubt that when, upon the death of Thorfinn, the districts occupied by him reverted to the descendants of the ancient possessors, the population must have been principally Norwegian, and that the Norse language had spread over that part of the country. In the more mountainous and Highland

districts, however, we are warranted in concluding that the effect must have been very different, and that the possession of the country by the Norwegians for thirty years could have exercised as little permanent influence on the population itself, as we are assured by the Saga it did upon the race of their chiefs.

Previously to this conquest the northern Gaelic race possessed the whole of the north of Scotland, from the western to the eastern sea, and the general change produced by the conquest must have been, that the Gael were for the first time confined within those limits which they have never since exceeded, and that the eastern districts became inhabited by that Gothic race, who have also ever since possessed them.

The population of the south of Scotland remained in the meantime partly Anglic and partly Gaelic, the former people possessing the whole of the country south of the Firth of Forth, while the latter occupied the remaining districts. Upon the death of Thorfinn the northern districts of the country fell once more under the rule of the native chiefs, and they appear to have refused to acknowledge Malcolm Kenmore's right, and to have chosen for themselves a king of their own, Donald M'Malcolm, who in all probability was a son or descendant of Malcolm M'Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, who had formerly been king of Scotland. During a period of twenty-one years, Malcolm appears to have been engaged in constant attempts to reduce the northern districts under his dominion, and to have gradually extended his kingdom, until he at length succeeded in suppressing all opposition to his government. In 1070 we find him founding the Culdee establishment of Mortlach, in consequence of a victory obtained over his opponents. In 1077 the Saxon Chronicle informs us that Maolsnechtan, the Maormor of Moray, and son of that Lulach whom the northern faction had placed on the throne after the death of Macbeth, sustained a complete overthrow from Malcolm, and escaped with difficulty with the loss of his army and treasures; and finally, in 1085, we find recorded the violent deaths of Donald M'Malcolm, king of Alban, and Maolsnechtan M'Lulach, Maormor of Moray. After this date we do not trace the appearance of any further opposition to his power, and he

had probably now effectually reduced the whole of Scotland under his dominion. During the remainder of Malcolm's reign he continued in possession of the whole of Scotland, with the exception probably of Caithness, and he does not appear to have been disturbed on his throne by any further opposition on the part of the northern chiefs. Although Malcolm had been placed on the throne by the assistance of an English army, there can be no question that his kingdom was in its constitution a purely Celtic one, and that with the exception of the Anglic inhabitants of Lothian and Norwegian population of the north Lowlands, his subjects were purely Celtic. On his death, however, which took place in the year 1093; the Celtic and the Saxon laws of succession came into direct opposition to each other; for according to the Celtic law, his brother Donald was entitled to the succession, while the Saxons, who had been mainly instrumental in placing Malcolm on the throne, would yield obedience to no sovereign but his sons, who, according to the principles of succession recognised by them, were alone entitled to inherit. In addition to this subject of division, the Gaelic portion of the population were irritated, because of the great influx of Saxons that had been introduced among them, and felt alarmed at the idea of being governed by a family who were in all respects, except that of birth, Saxons. They accordingly proclaimed

A.D. 1098.

Donald Bane their king, and their power was still sufficiently great to enable them to succeed in placing him on the throne. Their success, however, was principally owing to the powerful assistance of Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, who was at that time in possession of the Western Isles. These islands he had reduced under his power in the last year of Malcolm Kenmore's reign, and as that prince was at that time preparing for his English expedition, he found it impossible to defend these remote parts of his kingdom, and was easily induced to consent to their occupation by the king of Norway. On his death, in 1093, Magnus had still remained with his fleet among the islands, and probably agreed to support Donald's claim to the throne, on condition of his confirming his brother's grant. Donald having passed his previous life among the Gael, possessed all their dislike to the encroachments of foreigners,

and in the spirit of that sentiment, his very first act was to expel all the English who had settled in the Lowlands under the protection of Malcolm. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the crown, for Duncan, the eldest son of his brother Malcolm, having applied to the king of England for assistance, received from him the aid of a numerous army of English and Normans, with which he advanced into Scotland, and succeeded in expelling Donald Bane. Notwithstanding the success which attended him in this enterprise, Duncan found it impossible, even with the assistance of his English auxiliaries, to preserve his hold in the Gaelic part of Scotland, and was in consequence obliged to enter into an agreement with the native chiefs, by which he purchased their support by the expulsion of the English who had accompanied him to Scotland. The Scots, however, had no sooner obtained the dismissal of the foreigners than they took advantage of it to attack and slay Duncan, and replace Donald Bane on the throne. From this it is plain that the whole of the Gaelic population were in the interest of Donald, whom they conceived to be their legitimate king. But the English king being determined not to spare any effort to place the family of Malcolm on the Scottish throne, again renewed the contest two years afterwards, by despatching Edgar Ætheling with a large army, composed of Saxons and Normans, to effect that purpose. The Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland were unable to resist the invasion of so powerful an army, and Edgar having overcome Donald in battle, made him captive and placed his namesake, the son of Malcolm Kenmore, on the throne.

Edgar, who was now the eldest surviving son of Malcolm Kenmore, was in a very different situation from either his father or his brother, for he was through his mother the undoubted heir of the old Saxon monarchy, and possessed a natural claim on the allegiance of the Anglic inhabitants of the country which had not belonged to the previous kings of Scotland. It was accordingly by the assistance of the Saxons alone that he was placed on the throne. The whole Gaelic population of the country appears to have been opposed to his claim. The hereditary possessions of the family which were in the Highlands were even enjoyed by the descendants of Donald

From the
accession
of Edgar,
A.D. 1066,
to the death
of Alexander
the First,
A.D. 1124,
the consti-
tution and
laws purely
Saxon.

Bane and Duncan, Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son, and during the reigns of Edgar and of his brother and successor, Alexander I., the laws, institutions, and forms of government were purely Saxon, while it is only on the accession of David I., who had previously possessed extensive baronies in England, that the Norman or feudal institutions were for the first time introduced into the country.

On the accession of Edgar those districts which had formed part of Thorfinn's kingdom appear to have remained in the possession of the native chiefs, who had regained them on the fall of that kingdom ; but the rest of the country, consisting of the territories on the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which the Scots had wrested from the southern Picts, and which had fallen to the royal house founded by Duncan, in addition to the whole of the country south of the Firths, became the absolute property of the king ; and here we find the Saxon population and Saxon institutions principally established. In imitation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, this part of the country was divided into earldoms, which were bestowed upon members of the royal family ; Saxon thanes were introduced over the whole country ; sheriffs and sheriffdoms everywhere established ; and thus, during the reigns of Edgar and Alexander I., the whole of Scotland, with the exception of what had formed the kingdom of Thorfinn, exhibited the exact counterpart of Saxon England, with its earls, thanes, and sheriffs, while the rest of the country remained in the possession of the Gaelic Maormors, who yielded so far to Saxon influence as to assume the Saxon title of earl.

Such was the termination of the Gaelic kingdom of Scotland ; from this period the Gael ceased to be the dominant people in the country, and then commenced that long enduring struggle between the opposing races, for independence on the one part, and supremacy on the other, which continued more or less to agitate the country, until finally terminated on the disastrous field of Culloden in 1746.

It appears, therefore, to have been during the reign of Edgar that the population of Scotland assumed that appearance which it has ever since exhibited. The Norwegian kingdom of Thorfinn had, as we have seen, excluded the Gael from the eastern

and more level part of the country north of the Tay, and had colonised these districts with a Norwegian race. The Saxon conquest under Edgar, for such it was in its effects, now confined them altogether to the mountainous districts of the country, and peopled the remainder of the Lowlands with Saxons and Normans. The two Teutonic races who were now placed contiguous to each other, and together occupied the whole of the Lowlands, gradually amalgamated and formed that Gothic race which now occupies that portion of the country, while the Gael were confined within those limits to which they have ever since been restricted.

During the whole of Edgar's reign, the Highlanders do not appear to have made any attempt to disturb him in the possession of the crown; but in the beginning of that of his successor, Alexander I., the district of Moray had so far recovered from the blow which Malcolm Kenmore's conquest of the north had inflicted upon it, as to enable them to offer considerable opposition to the government.

In this the Highlanders appear to have been instigated by Ladman, a son of Donald Bane, who probably desired to revenge his father's death, and attempted to seize the person of the king, by a sudden and unexpected attack upon him while at his palace of Invergourie.

Alexander, however, succeeded in escaping from their clutches, and with equal promptitude and boldness he summoned as many of his vassals as were within reach, attacked the Highlanders, unprepared for this prompt retaliation, and pursued them across the Spey into Moray, where he laid waste and devastated the country.

"Fra that day hys legys all
Oysid hym Alsandyr the Fers to call."

And so effectually did he succeed in crushing the inhabitants of Moray, that they were compelled to put to death Ladman, the son of Donald Bane, who had instigated them to the attempt in which they were unsuccessful.¹ During the remainder of the reign of Alexander, and the whole of that

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, under 1116. Winton and Fordun.

of David I., the Highlanders acquiesced in their occupation of the throne, being now, even according to the Celtic law, the legitimate heirs of Malcolm Kenmore; but on the death of David I., the two laws of succession were again opposed

Insurrec-
tions in
favour of
the descen-
dants of
Duncan,
eldest son
of Malcolm
Kenmore.

to each other, for, according to the feudal law, Malcolm, David's grandson, was the true heir of the throne, while the Highlanders recognised in that character William, termed the Boy of Egremont, the son of William Fitz Duncan, and grandson of Duncan, who was Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son.

The Boy of Egremont was supported in his claim by no less than seven earls, of whom the principal were the earls of Stratherne, Ross, and Orkney; and on the return of Malcolm IV. from France, where he had followed the king of England, they attacked him in the citadel of Perth.

Notwithstanding the powerful support which the Boy of Egremont had, this attempt was doomed to be as unsuccessful as all the others made by his family. Malcolm appears to have acted with a promptitude worthy of his predecessor, Alexander the Fierce, and

" Rycht manlyly
Soone skalyd all that cumpany
And tuk and slue."

The claim of the descendants of William Fitz Duncan upon the throne was now taken up by Donald Bane, who asserted himself to be his son, and as usual he obtained the support of the northern chiefs. For seven years he held out the earldoms of Moray and Ross against William the Lion, plundering the rest of the country far and wide; and it was only in consequence of his being accidentally met by the royal troops, when accompanied by few of his followers, and slain, that the king succeeded in suppressing the insurrection. The attempt was resumed twenty-four years afterwards by his son Guthred, who kept possession of the north of Scotland for some time, and baffled every attempt on the part of the king to take him, until he was treacherously betrayed into the hands of the Earl of Buchan, and beheaded. Another attempt was

A.D. 1160.

A.D. 1187.

A.D. 1211.

made on the death of William the Lion and accession of his son Alexander II., by Donald, a brother of Guthred, A. D. 1214. in conjunction with a claimant to the earldom of Moray, but this insurrection was speedily suppressed by the Earl of Ross, a new and powerful ally of the government; and the same fate attended the last effort made by this family to obtain possession of the throne, which they conceived to be their right, six years afterwards. Gilliescop M'Scolane, a descendant of William Fitz Duncan, who at first A. D. 1222. obtained a temporary success, was betrayed and put to death with his sons. He appears to have been the last of his race, and thus terminated these singular attempts to place a rival family on the throne of Scotland, which lasted during a period of upwards of one hundred years, and which exhibits so extraordinary a proof of the tenacity and perseverance with which the Highlanders maintained their peculiar laws of succession and the claims of a hereditary title to the throne.¹

During the whole of this period the Highlanders, of whom the inhabitants of the district of Moray were the principal, did not cease to assert the claim of the lineal descendant of Malcolm Kenmore to the throne of Scotland; and in all their insurrections they were supported by the greater part of the northern chiefs, as well as by the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, whose power, however, as well as his territories, had sustained considerable diminution. It was, nevertheless, in vain for them to contend against the increasing power of the Saxon kings of the family of Malcolm, and the great force which, by the assistance of the Norman and Saxon barons, they were enabled to bring into the field against them. Accordingly, each insurrection was successively subdued with increasing loss to the inhabitants of Moray, until at length, in the year 1161, upon the ill success of the attempt to place William of Egremont on the throne, Malcolm IV., after a violent struggle, finally succeeded in subjecting the country; he completely crushed the family which had been hitherto known as possessors of the title of earls of Moray, and bestowed that dignity upon the earls of Mar.

¹ The account of these insurrections the Chronicle of Melrose. is taken from Winton, Fordun, and

In the meantime the earls of Ross had been gradually establishing themselves in that power and influence which had formerly been possessed by the chiefs of Moray, and the defeat of the last attempt of the inhabitants of that district to place the descendant of their ancient earls in possession of his inheritance, as well as one of the rival race of Mac Williams, upon the throne by Ferehard, Earl of Ross, in the year 1215, completely established their power. At this time the Western Isles were in possession of the Norwegians; the line of the ancient earls of Atholl had shortly before become extinct, and consequently there was not any one to dispute the supremacy which the earls of Ross now assumed in the north of Scotland. But a considerable change took place in the Highlands, upon

*Cession of
the Isles.
A.D. 1266.*

the cession of the Isles by the Norwegians to the king of Scotland in the year 1266, as that event was the means of bringing one of the most powerful clans in the Highlands under subjection to the king; besides the earldom of Ross, the only other territory in which the descendants of the ancient Maormors remained in full and undisturbed possession of the power and dignity which their ancestors held, was the district of Dala or Argyll, the male line of the ancient Maormors or earls having universally failed in all the other Highland districts. Their several dignities and power had passed into the hands of Norman barons, and their dependent tribes had separated into a number of small and independent clans, who, besides having to oppose the tyranny and encroachments of these barons, were at constant feud with each other, either for the nominal title of chief, or for some other cause. Such a state of matters was peculiarly favourable for the introduction of Saxon laws and of Saxon domination into the country, and as a natural consequence, the resistance to these novelties, which in other circumstances would have been general among the Gael, now fell entirely upon the single great chief who still possessed any considerable power in the Highlands, and who was thus driven into constant opposition to the government. The cession of the Isles thus brought the powerful clan of the Macdonalds into the field, and their having so lately enjoyed a state of regal independence, with but a nominal submission to the king of Norway,

disposed them the less to yield a ready obedience to the Scottish monarch. Had the Macdonalds been a united clan, they would have had little difficulty in compelling the earls of Ross to submit to their authority, and with them to have presented a powerful opposition to the government, but the Highland law of succession had produced its usual effect over their extensive territories, and the clan being divided into several rival branches, they were able to do little more than merely to hold their ground against the earls of Ross. And as the jealousy and hereditary enmity between the two great tribes of Ross and Argyll was too great to allow them to unite together in any object, the government consequently experienced but little difficulty in effecting its object of overawing the Highland clans, and compelling the adoption of the feudal law.

The extinction of some of the branches of the Macdonalds, and the forfeiture and utter extermination of one of its principal branches in the wars of Bruce and Baliol, at length threw the whole power and force of that great tribe into the hands of the lords of the Isles, who accordingly began now to present an alarming aspect to the government. The earldom of Ross, too, had at this time shared the fate of the other Highland earldoms, and had become extinct, while the honours and territories fell into the possession of a Norman baron; so that it was only by the exercise of the greatest foresight and prudence on the part of government that the enmity between the Gael and Saxons was prevented from breaking out into open hostilities, until at length a circumstance occurred to bring down upon the country the storm of Gaelic fury which had so long been dreaded. That event was brought about from the male line of the earls of Ross having once more failed, and the lord of the Isles, who had married the heiress of the title, immediately claimed the earldom as an appanage to his former power. It was at once perceived by Government, that however undeniable this claim might be, to admit it would be to concentrate the whole power which the Gael still possessed collectively in the person of one chief, and that by means of that union he would become so formidable an opponent, as to render the result of any struggle which might occur between the two races, a matter of considerable doubt. The government

therefore resolved to oppose the claim of the lord of the Isles by every means in its power, and as a pretext for doing so, a fictitious claim to the title was raised in the person of the son of the governor himself. The lord of the Isles flew to arms in order to vindicate his right, and that struggle was commenced between the government and these powerful lords, which in all probability would have been successful on the part of the Gael, had it not been for the energy and military talent of King James I., and which was not brought to a conclusion till the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles in 1493.

Forfeiture
of the lord
of the Isles.
A.D. 1493.

From the extinction of this powerful dynasty may be dated the fall of the Highland clans, who now rapidly declined both in their political power and internal condition. By the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, and his subsequent death without lawful issue, the sole remaining family of the great Highland chiefs became extinct, and the country, which had hitherto been in the possession of these few great chiefs, was now occupied by a number of small clans, of which the more considerable had become disunited among themselves; feuds arose among them everywhere, chiefly on the subject of the now nominal dignity of chief, and the whole of the Highlands became a scene of disorder, internal warfare, and bloodshed.

The strict, vigorous, and, considering the state of the people, the beneficial government of the great chiefs was gone, while the power of the royal government had not yet extended far beyond the Highland line, as the boundary between the Highland and Lowland portions of Scotland was denominated, and the system of clanship, which in its perfect state was the only one at all compatible with the peculiar condition of the Highlanders, and the mode of life which the nature of their country necessarily obliged them to follow, was, when broken in upon and amalgamated with feudal principles, singularly ill adapted to improve their condition. What the dissension among the Highland clans, and the extinction of their great families had commenced, was by the artful and designing policy of the Argyll family completed. By good fortune originally, and subsequently by well-judged policy, the family of Campbell had gradually arisen from the condition of petty chiefs in Argyll-

shire to that of powerful barons. Their only opponents in that quarter had been the lords of the Isles ; the extinction of that family now afforded them a favourable opportunity of extending their power which was not neglected, and a succession of talented and crafty statesmen, secretly and steadily pursuing the same policy, soon enabled them to attain their object. The general line of policy pursued by these earls was, by devising means to incite the different clans in their neighbourhood to rebellion and acts of aggression, and when these proceedings had attracted the attention of government towards them, the Earl of Argyll made offer of his services to reduce the turbulent clans to obedience, upon certain terms. Should government, however, upon any occasion, despatch another person for that purpose, the expedition was certain to have an unsuccessful issue, and the council of state found itself under the necessity of accepting of Argyll's offer ; so that the affair generally terminated in the unwary clans finding themselves betrayed by the very person who had instigated them to acts of rebellion, and that additional power consequently devolved upon the Argyll family.

Although the Highland clans were now reduced to such a state of anarchy and disorder, they were still powerful enough, when united, to shake the stability of the government. The frequent attempts which they made to replace the descendants of the lords of the Isles on the Highland throne of their ancestors will be mentioned in another place. But in no instance did the system of clanship manifest its extraordinary influence in

**War of
Montrose.**

such strength as in the rapid but brilliant campaigns of Montrose, when the Scottish army marched into England to assist the parliament in their struggle, and Montrose endeavoured, by raising the Highland clans, to make a diversion in favour of the king in the north of Scotland. He was, upon that occasion, promptly and cheerfully joined by the Highlanders, who entertained a hereditary respect for the descendant of so many kings, and whose principles also led them to support the hereditary succession to the crown. No person was better acquainted with Highland warfare, or more able to make an advantageous use of the peculiar qualities of that race, than the Marquis of Montrose ; and, accordingly, with a force

which at first did not exceed 1500 men, he gained five successive victories over the troops sent against him by the Scottish parliament, and finally, by the last victory at Kilsyth, found himself in possession of the country. There is little doubt that Montrose could now have placed his royal master on the throne, had it not been for the inveterate adherence of the Highlanders to their ancient practice, which, as usual, rendered any permanent advantage which they might have been able to derive from their victory altogether nugatory; for, unaccustomed to a regular campaign having an ultimate object in view, or, in fact, to any other species of warfare than that of their own predatory incursions, of which the object was plunder alone, they were in the habit of returning to their homes after every battle, to secure the spoil they had obtained; and thus Montrose's army gradually melted away, until he found himself with even fewer men than when he commenced the campaign, and obliged to forego all the advantages he might have derived from his brilliant progress. Nevertheless, he unfortunately determined to advance with the small force which remained to him, and without the assistance of the clans, by whose aid he had been able to do so much, and the defeat which he sustained at Philliphaugh at once neutralized the effects of his previous success. Nor was he again able to redeem the ground he had lost, although he succeeded in making his escape to the Highlands. On the death of Charles I., his son, Charles II., who was determined to make a last effort in Scotland before concluding a treaty with the Presbyterian party, induced Montrose to attempt again to rouse the Highland clans, and the unfortunate issue of this adventure is well known: Montrose was defeated at Invercharron in Ross-shire, and soon thereafter, by the treachery of Macleod of Ascent, delivered up to the Covenanters, who speedily revenged the many terrors he had caused them, by his death on the scaffold.

After this the Highlands were completely subdued by Cromwell, who compelled the principal clans to submit to his authority, and to secure their obedience he built several fortresses and garrisoned them with English troops. Subsequently, however, they were called forth from their mountain districts, and from the prosecution of their internal feuds, to assist the Earl of Lauderdale in carrying through his oppressive proceedings

against the gentry of the western counties of Scotland, where they were long after remembered under the denomination of the Highland host.

The revolution which placed the Prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain, again called the Highlanders forth to attempt the restoration of that family for whom they had already effected so much, and they once more found themselves in arms under a leader as fully able to guide their energies as Montrose had been. Bearing the same name, and with a character as enterprising as his illustrious predecessor, Dundee was soon at the head of 3000 Highlanders, and if his career of victory had

**Battle of
Killiecranky.**

not been arrested at the outset by his death after the battle of Killiecranky, he would probably have effected his object. His death left no one of sufficient energy to follow out the enterprise, and the fruits of their victory were accordingly lost. The Highland chiefs had now so frequently taken up arms in behalf of the Stuart family, that they began to feel themselves in a manner identified with the cause, and from this period they appear to have kept up a close correspondence with the exiled court in France. Their sons were frequently sent to be educated in that country, and thus their devotion to the cause of hereditary right was strengthened by personal attachment to the individuals of the family which had been driven from the throne; more especially as the proceedings of the government towards the clans were little calculated to conciliate their attachment. At one time they were persecuted with unexampled severity, and at others their honour insulted by attempts to buy them off from their adherence to the exiled family. They spurned these offers with disdain, while the severities but irritated them the more, and the massacre of Glencoe has left a stain on the memory of King William which will not soon be forgotten.

**Insurrection
of 1715.**

The period now approached when they were once more to raise the Highland standard in favour of the Stuarts, and the unconciliating manners and the mistaken policy of George I. hastened the event, which for some time previous, had been in contemplation. The Highlanders, to the amount of nearly 15,000 men, assembled in the year 1715, at the instigation of the Earl of Mar. Under such leaders as either

Montrose or Dundee there could not be a moment's doubt as to the immediate result of a demonstration so powerful as this ; but what either of these great leaders could with half the numbers have effected, the military incapacity and indecision of their self-constituted commander prevented them from achieving. In this ill-fated attempt we see how unavoidably the mismanagement and obstinacy of one individual may disarm the otherwise resistless energy of such a band, and prevent its success, even where no appearance of opposition existed adequate to resist its progress. A brave, and in this instance misguided people, became exposed to the vengeance of a vindictive government, too seriously alarmed to be much disposed to exercise forbearance towards them. Prompt measures accordingly were immediately taken, effectually to subdue the Highlanders. An Act was passed to strip them of their arms ; an officer of skill and experience was sent to examine the state of the country, and in consequence of his report, means were taken to open up the Highland districts, and render them more accessible to English troops, by means of military roads carried through all the principal districts. The estates of those engaged in the insurrection were forfeited ; independent companies of Highlanders, favourable to the established government, were raised to secure the peace of the country, and garrisons of English soldiers were stationed in the different Highland forts. But before any permanent effect could result from these measures, another opportunity had presented itself for the warlike and loyal spirit of the clans again to burst forth into open insurrection ; and on this occasion they certainly had not to complain of having to range themselves under the banner of an unenterprising leader. It seemed, indeed, as if the Highland clans, which were now rapidly approaching the termination of their independence, and that royal family whose unhappy fate had so repeatedly called forth their devoted exertions in its favour, were not to fall without exhibiting together one more splendid effort, the brilliancy of which, and the near approach which they made to success, should create universal astonishment.

Insurrection
of 1745.

It was in the month of July, 1745, that the son of James, styling himself Third of England, Prince Charles Edward, made his unexpected appearance

on the west coast of Scotland, raised the standard of revolt in Glenfinnan, and was, in the course of a few days, joined by some 1500 clansmen. With this insignificant force he boldly set forward to assert his right to the British crown, his strength daily and rapidly increasing until it augmented to about 5000 men. But the ardour of his disposition, and that of his devoted followers, compensated for the want of numerical force, and he urged his headlong progress with a degree of success of which history affords few examples; after defeating a greatly superior force of regular troops at Prestonpans, he penetrated with his small army into the very heart of a strong and populous country, nor suspended his progress until within ninety miles of the metropolis of England. Circumstances had rendered some space for deliberation now necessary, and, considering the very inadequate character of their resources, to enable them for any length of time to maintain their ground in the midst of an enemy's country, the only chance of success seemed to be, in resolving at all hazards to push on to London, and under the walls of the metropolis to dispute the pretensions of the reigning monarch to the throne. But, unhappily for their cause, the confidence of the Scottish levies had rapidly declined in proportion as they found themselves removed to a distance from their native hills; conflicting opinions began to prevail, the prudence of timely retreat was urged upon the Prince, and his reluctant assent to that disheartening measure finally attained. It is not my object here to detail the events of this romantic enterprise; suffice it to say, that even in the discouragement of retreat, the gallantry and characteristic hardihood of the clansmen were conspicuous; they defeated the King's troops at Falkirk, but every hope of ultimate success was finally extinguished on the disastrous field of Culloden.

The government were now too painfully aware of the formidable character of the Highlanders in arms, wild and undisciplined as they were, and of the constancy of their loyal attachment to the exiled house of Stuart, not to adopt the most severe measures to crush their spirit, and the universal alarm which their progress had created throughout the kingdom, was too great to be forgotten, when the opportunity of revenge at length presented itself. Every atrocity which it is possible to conceive an army,

smarting under a sense of previous discomfiture and disgrace, capable of inflicting, was for some time committed on the unfortunate Highlanders; their peaceful glens were visited with the scourge of a licentious soldiery let loose upon the helpless inhabitants, and every means was taken to break up the peculiar organization and consequent power of the Highland clans. The disarming Act which had been passed after the insurrection of the year 1715 was now carried into rigid execution; and with a view to destroy as much as possible any distinctive usages and peculiarities of this primeval race, and thus to efface their nationality, an Act was passed proscribing the use of their ancient garb. The indignity inflicted by this act was perhaps more keenly felt by the Highlanders, attached in no ordinary degree to their ancient customs, than any of the other measures resorted to by the English government, but at the same time it must be admitted that it effected the object contemplated in its formation, and that more was accomplished by this measure in destroying the nationality and breaking up the spirit of the clansmen, than by any of the other acts. The system of clanship was also assailed by an act passed in the year 1748, by which heritable jurisdictions were abolished throughout Scotland, and thus the sanction of law was removed from any claim which Highland chiefs or barons might in future be disposed to make upon the obedience or services of their followers.

Abolition of
heritable
jurisdictions.

✓ The general effect of these enactments was altogether to change the character of the Highlanders as a nation; their long-cherished ideas of clanship gradually gave way under the absence and ruin of so many of their chiefs, while, with the loss of their peculiar dress, and the habitual use of arms, they also lost their feelings of independence. But what was left unaccomplished by the operation of these penal acts, was finally completed by the skill and policy of the Earl of Chatham, who, by levying regiments in the Highlands for the service of the government in Canada, rendered the hardihood, fidelity, and martial spirit, so eminently characteristic of the Gael, subservient to the interest of government, to which, when in opposition, it had been so formidable, at the same time that "the absence of the most inflammable part of a

superabundant population, greatly diminished the risk of fresh disturbances."

Thus terminated the existence of the Scottish Highlanders as a peculiar, and in some degree, an independent nation; and it is remarkable to find their fall brought about by their exertions in the cause of those Princes whose ancestors had striven so long and so hard to crush that very spirit to which they were beholden for the last support. But if these acts of the government thus destroyed the organization of the Highland clans, and brought the country into a state of peace from one of almost constant strife and bloodshed, it was left for the Highland chiefs themselves, by an act as unjustifiable in respect to humanity as it was inexpedient as an act of policy, to give

Introduction
of sheep
farming.

the last blow to the rapid decline of the Highland population, and to affect their individual comfort and welfare, as by the former measures the government had affected their independence and national spirit. An idea was unhappily adopted by Highland proprietors, that a much larger rent might be obtained for their possessions now in the occupancy generally of small farmers, and the herds of black cattle which they reared, were they converted into grazings for sheep; a plan, for the accomplishment of which it became necessary to throw a number of the small farms into one, and thus to divide the districts into single sheep farms of great extent, which, of course, required for that purpose to be cleared of the population now become superfluous. This formed the climax to the process of deterioration which had been gradually reducing the condition of the poor Highlanders, in proportion as their chiefs advanced in the modern constitution of society. For the Highland tacksman, who was originally co-proprietor of his land with the chiefs, became by a series of changes, first vassal, then hereditary tenant, and lastly, tenant at will, while the law of the country now declared the chiefs to be absolute proprietors of the lands occupied by their clan. When, accordingly, the first prospect of this advantage opened to them, the chiefs had no hesitation in violating the relation which subsisted between the Highland proprietor and his tacksman, and in proceeding to depopulate the country for the sake of their increased rents. The change produced by this system was very

great, and to adopt the words of General Stewart, in his work on the state of the Highlands, "It has reduced to a state of nature lands that had long been subjected to the plough, and which had afforded the means of support to a moral, happy, and contented population ; it has converted whole glens and districts, once the abode of a brave, vigorous, and independent race of men, into scenes of desolation ; it has torn up families which seemed rooted, like Alpine plants in the soil of their elevated regions, and which from their habits and principles appeared to be its original possessors, as well as its natural occupiers, and forced them thence, penniless and unskilful, to seek a refuge in manufacturing towns, or in a state of helpless despair, to betake themselves to the wilds of a far distant land. The spirit of speculation has invaded those mountains which no foreign enemy could penetrate, and expelled a brave people whom no intruder could subdue."

Experience has not justified the policy of this change ; and the Highland proprietors now find themselves in a worse position than they would have been if the old system had been suffered to continue ; while the country remains a most disheartening spectacle of desolation and distress, exhibiting the wreck of that singular and interesting people who have inhabited the same rugged territory from the earliest dawn of history, but whose peculiarity of manners and simplicity of character are now rapidly disappearing.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE HIGHLANDERS—CLANSHIP—LAW OF
SUCCESSION—LAW OF MARRIAGE AND GRADATION OF RANKS.

THE interest, which the Gaelic population in Scotland has always excited, is to be attributed in a great measure to the peculiarity of their character and of their manners. Situated in the heart of civilization, and of continued improvement in the form of society, they have for centuries exhibited the strange contrast of a mountain people retaining their habits of predatory warfare and pastoral occupation with singular tenacity, in spite of the advancement of society around them; while speaking a peculiar language, and wearing a peculiar dress, they possessed in a very great degree the imaginative character and rude virtues of a simple and uncultivated race. In a work so limited as the present, it would be impossible to present anything like a complete view of a subject of this nature, and as the great object of the writer throughout has been to give a correct and authentic, and consequently a concise, detail of the history of this singular nation, although perhaps at the expense of the amenity of his style, and in opposition to the prejudices of his countrymen, he will, in the following remarks, convey merely a short sketch of the principal peculiarities of their manners, substituting a true picture, derived from the most authentic facts which can still be collected, in place of the loose declamation which that subject has hitherto in general called forth.

In treating of this matter it will be necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to consider it under three different branches; the first comprehending their government, laws, and distinction of ranks, the second relating to everything connected with their religion, superstitions, and music, and the last branch consisting

of their domestic manners, by which may be understood their ordinary mode of life, their dress, arms, &c.

Distinction
between the
Highland
and the fe-
dal systems.

The great peculiarity which distinguishes the form of government and society among the nations of Celtic origin from that of all other European nations is certainly the existence among these tribes of what is generally termed the *patriarchal* system of government; and this system had one remarkable property, that it occasionally exhibited features to all appearance identic with the feudal and other forms of society, although in point of fact these apparently similar features were produced by very different causes, and were based on very different principles. Thus, although most of the great nations which formed the original inhabitants of Europe were divided into a number of tribes acknowledging the rule of an hereditary chief, and thus exhibiting an apparently similar constitution, yet it was community of origin which constituted the simple tie that united the Celtic tribe with its chief, while the tribes of the Goths and other European nations were associated together for the purposes of mutual protection or convenience alone; the Celtic chief was the hereditary lord of all who were descended of the same stock with himself, while the Gothic baron was the hereditary proprietor of a certain tract of land, and thence entitled to the service and obedience of all who dwelt upon that land.

In no Celtic nation in which the patriarchal system has remained is this property of that system so very remarkable as the case of the Highlanders of Scotland. In some instances their system of government has exhibited features so nearly allied to the feudal as even to have led many to assert that that system has at all times existed among them, while in other instances their constitution and laws are altogether opposed to the principles of the feudal law. As an example of this apparent

Clanship.

similarity we may mention the system of clanship, which has not unfrequently been mistaken for a modification of the feudal jurisdiction, while nothing can exhibit a stronger opposition than the laws of succession and marriage according to the two systems. The natural consequence of this has been, that in the former instance the feudal law was introduced into the Highlands with so little difficulty that at a very

early period we find instances of lands in the Highlands being held by a feudal tenure, and the chiefs exercising a feudal jurisdiction; while in the latter, the struggle between the two systems was long and doubtful. Many years have not passed since the feudal law of succession and marriage came into general use in the Highlands, and to this source may be traced most of the controversies which have arisen among many of the Highland families regarding succession and chieftainship.

The system of clanship in the Highlands, though possessing this apparent resemblance, was in principle very different indeed from the feudal system as observed in the rest of the country. In the one case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the whole clan; in the other, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and for their portion of which they were bound to render military service. In the one, the Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they possessed; in the other, the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, of whatever race they might individually be. The one dignity, in fact, was personal, while the other was territorial; yet these two systems, so different in principle, were still in appearance and effect almost identic. Both systems exhibited the appearance of a subject in possession of unlimited power within his territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous band of followers, over whom they held a power of life and death, and whose defection they could resist with fire and sword. Both were calculated to raise the power of the turbulent chiefs and nobles of the period, and to diminish that of the crown—to retard the operations of justice throughout the country, and to impede the progress of improvement. The one system was peculiarly adapted to a people in the hunting and pastoral state of society—to a people the nature of whose country prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, and whose manners must consequently remain the same, however much their mental state might be susceptible of improvement. The other system was necessary to a population occupying a fertile country, possessing but a rude notion of agriculture, and obliged to defend their

possessions from aggression on all sides. But neither of the two were at all compatible with a nation in a state of civilization, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property an equal administration of justice.

The feudal system, so far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, was easily introduced, to appearance, in the Highlands; but although the principal Highland chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances, to hold their lands of the crown or of the Lowland barons, yet in reality the Celtic system of clanship remained in full force among the native Highlanders and the chieftains of the smaller branches, who were not brought into direct contact with the government until a very late period. The peculiarities of the Highland clan are nowhere better described than in the letters from an officer of Engineers to his friend in London, written about the year 1730; and his remarks are peculiarly valuable, as being the observations of a stranger; so that I cannot omit quoting the passage.

“The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch from whence they sprang; and in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe goodwill to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence one to another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. *This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands in old times were the possessions of their ancestors.*

“The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals,

determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of the name; and if anyone should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began."

To this concise and admirable description, it is unnecessary to add anything farther.

In no instance, perhaps, is the difference between the Highland and the feudal laws, both in principle and in appearance, so very remarkable as in the law of succession. This subject has been hitherto very much misunderstood, which has produced a degree of vagueness and uncertainty in all that has hitherto been written on the history of the Highland clans, although it is of the greatest consequence for that history, that a correct idea should be entertained of the precise nature of the Highland law of succession, as well as of the distinction between that law and the feudal. It has generally been held, that the law of succession in the Highlands was the same with the feudal, and whenever supposed anomalies have been perceived in their succession, it has at once been assumed, that, in these cases, the proper rule had been departed from, and that the succession of their chiefs was in some degree elective. We frequently find it asserted, "that ideas of

LAW OF suc-
cession.

succession were so *loose* in the Highlands that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and *even* to sons." But nothing can be more erroneous than this opinion, or more inconsistent with the character of the Highlanders than to suppose that they ever, in any degree, admitted of election. For an attentive examination of the succession of their chiefs when influenced by the feudal law will show, that they adhered strictly to a system of hereditary succession, although that system was very different from the feudal one. The Highland law of succession requires to be considered in reference to two subjects:—first, as to the succession to the chiefship and to the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and secondly, as to succession to property or to the land itself. The former is generally

Tanistry.

termed the law of Tanistry, and the latter that of Gavel. The first of these is the most important to be ascertained, for when the feudal law was introduced, it became in fact the succession to the property also, while the last was too much opposed to feudal principles to be allowed to exist at all, even in a modified state. The oldest and most complete specimen of the Highland law of Tanistry which remains, is to be found in the case of the succession of the Maormors of Moray, and the peculiarities of this system will appear from a consideration of the history of that family. In the first place, the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, which is proved by the fact, that although Malcolm, Maormor of Moray, and afterwards King of Scotland, had a daughter who was married to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, Sigurd's son, was consequently his feudal representative, yet he was succeeded in his possessions by his brother Gillcomgain. In the second place, the great peculiarity which distinguished the Highland from the feudal laws of succession was that, in the former, the brothers invariably succeeded before the sons. This arose partly from an anxiety to avoid minorities in a nation dependent upon a competent leader in war, but principally from the difference in principle between the two systems. In the feudal system it was succession to property, and the nearest relation to the last feudal proprietor was naturally considered feudal heir, while in the Highland system, on the other hand, it was succession to

the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder of the tribe, and thus it was the relation to the common ancestor through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession; the brother being considered as one degree nearer to the original founder of the race than the son.¹

An attentive examination of the most ancient and purest instances of Highland succession, will sufficiently show, that the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, as a right, and according to a fixed rule, and not, as has been generally supposed, that the succession of a brother before a son was any departure from the established rule of succession or produced by a species of election. This is in no case so strikingly exemplified as in the succession of the Maormors of Moray: Maolbride, the first known Maormor, is succeeded by his brother Finlay, Finlay by Malcolm, *son* of Maolbride, and Malcolm by his brother Gillcomgain. But further, in the third place, the Highland law of Tanistry had still another peculiarity, which was this, that if the person who ought to succeed was under age, his nearest male relation succeeded and retained the chiefship during his life, although the proper heir had in the meantime attained majority. This will appear from a curious passage in a chronicle of considerable antiquity, which informs us, that there was an ancient law by which "in cases that the children of the deceissand suld not have passit

¹ The principle upon which the Tanistic succession is founded was recognised as the old law of succession in Scotland as early as the competition between Bruce and Baliol for the crown:—Bruce's third pleading was "that the manner of *succession* to the kingdom of Scotland in former times made for his claim, for that the *brother, as being nearest in degree* (*ratione proximitatis in gradu*), was wont to be preferred to the son of the deceased king. Thus, when Kenneth M'Alpine died, his brother Donald was preferred to his son Constantine: thus, when Constantine died, his brother Edh was preferred to his son Donald;

and thus the brother of Malcolm III. reigned after him to the exclusion of the son of Malcolm III."

Baliol answered, "That if the brother was preferred to the son of the king the example proved against Bruce, for that the son, not the brother, was the nearest in degree." Hailes adds the following just remark:—"Here Baliol attempted to answer Bruce's argument without understanding it. *Bruce supposed an ancestor to be the common stock, and the degrees to be the persons descending from that stock. Hence the king's brother stood in one degree nearer the common stock than the king's son.*"

the aige of fourteen ziers, that he of the *blude wha wes nerrest*, beand worthie and capable, suld be elected to reign durement his lyffe, without prejudice of the richteous heretouris whan they atteinit the parfite aige." From this passage we learn, that fourteen was the ancient Highland period of majority, and that if the lawful heir had not attained that age, then the nearest relation succeeded for the period of his life, after which it returned to the proper heir. This remarkable property was also illustrated in the succession of the Maormors of Moray; for although Gillcomgain had a son Lulach, he is succeeded by Macbeth, the son of his uncle Finlay, and therefore his nearest heir failing his own son, and after Macbeth's death Lulach succeeded him.

Every instance of Highland succession which has hitherto been thought to have proceeded from loose ideas on this subject, will be found upon examination to accord with this system; and it is manifest that the law of Tanistry, although opposed in a remarkable degree to the feudal notions of later days, yet proceeds naturally from the principles of the patriarchal constitution of society, and was in fact peculiarly adapted to a people whose habits of warfare required at all times a competent chief to lead them. But if the law of Tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, still more so

Gavel. was the law of Gavel, or the succession to property among the Highlanders. The feudal law implied the right of the eldest son not only to the superiority over the rest of the family, but also to the whole of the property itself, and the younger branches were driven to seek advancement in war or in other courses of life. In the Highlands it was quite different, for there the property of the clan was by the law of Gavel divided in certain proportions among the whole of the male branches of the family, while females were altogether excluded from succession either to chiefship or to property.

What the exact proportions were into which the property was divided, it is impossible to ascertain, but it would appear that the principal seat of the family, together with a certain extent of property around it, was not included in the division and always remained the property of the chief of the clan for

the time. The chief, besides this, retained a sort of right of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, and received from each of the dependent branches a proportion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of chiefship, as well as for the purpose of enabling him to support the dignity of his station and the hospitality which he was called upon to exercise.

Although this system is so adverse to feudal principles, it is nevertheless clear that it was the only one which could exist among a people in the condition that the Highlanders were, and that it was in fact produced by the state of society among them; for when there was no other means of subsistence or pursuits open to the branches of the families during peace, except those derived from the pasturage of the country, and during war that of following their chief, whose interest it accordingly became to retain upon the property as great a number of men as possible, and to secure the obedience of as large a clan as he could, it naturally followed that a division of the property among them was expedient, as well as that the patriarchal right of government and chiefship should descend to the lawful heir alone. A system so directly opposed to feudal principles as this could not maintain its existence in the Highlands under any modification, but still it was a system so well adapted to the Highland constitution of society, that it was only after a long struggle that it was finally given up, and even at a comparatively late period instances of its operation among them may be observed.

The most remarkable instance of this system, perhaps, appears in the history of the Macdonalds. Sommerled divided his immense possessions among his three sons. Another division took place by Reginald, his eldest son, among his three sons. And again, in the fourteenth century, by John, Lord of the Isles, who had obtained nearly the whole of the territories which had belonged to his ancestor Sommerled, among his seven sons; and finally, as late as the fifteenth century, we find the possessions of his eldest son Reginald, the founder of the clan Ranald, divided among his five sons. One effect produced by this system was, that the branch of the family which had been longest separated from the main stem, in technical language the eldest cadet, became the most powerful

family of the clan next to the chief, and in many cases much more powerful than even the family of the chief itself, in direct opposition to the results produced when the feudal system prevailed, in which case the youngest cadet, or the family nearest to the main stem, was of most consideration; and this difference between the two systems produced, as we shall afterwards see, a very remarkable result.

It has been not unfrequently remarked in the Highland succession, that a bastard son is often found in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan; and that in general when a feud has arisen from this cause between the bastard and the feudal heir, the bastard has the support of a great part of the clan. This, as might be expected, has hitherto been attributed to loose ideas of succession among the Highlanders, or to the influence of some principle of election; but when we consider how very inflexible the notions of the Highlanders were in matters of hereditary right, it would seem a more probable supposition that the Highland law of marriage was originally very different from the feudal, and that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. There is accordingly a singular custom regarding marriage retained to a very late period among the Highlanders, which would seem to infer that their original law of marriage was different from that of the feudal. This custom was termed handfasting, and consisted in a species of contract between two chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of the one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or handfast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have

Law of
marriage.

originated ; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law in Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage ; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate.¹ It naturally followed that when the feudal law was introduced, it came, in this point, to be directly opposed to the Highland law, and must have frequently occasioned the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, to be looked upon as a bastard by the government, and according to their rules as incapable of succeeding ; and thus arose many of those disputes about succession and chiefship which embroiled so many families with each other and with the government. But it must always be kept in mind that the Highlanders themselves drew a very strong distinction between bastard sons and the issue of these handfast unions, whom they considered legitimate, and that they rigorously excluded from succession of any sort the illegitimate offspring.

Having thus given a short view of the principal peculiarities which distinguished the constitution and laws of the Highlanders from those of other nations, it becomes proper that we should in some degree complete the sketch by a cursory examination of the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed among them, and these we must, in the same manner as the law of succession, regard in two points of view ; first, in reference to their relation to property or the land of which

Gradation
of ranks.

¹ As late as the sixteenth century the issue of a handfast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. Alexander Sutherland claimed the earldom "as one lawfullie descended from his father Earle John the third ;

because, as he alleged, his mother was *handfasted* and financed to his father ;" and his claim was *bought off* by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married Earl John's heiress.—Sir Robert Gordon.

they were proprietors, and second, in relation to the clan of which they were members.

With respect to the first point of view, the Highland system appears to have borne a close resemblance to the Welsh and Irish customs. According to the Welsh authorities there were three several tenures of land and nine degrees of rank. The first tenure was termed *Maerdir*, from *Maer*, the same as the Gaelic *Maor*, and signifying correctly any person that has jurisdiction. The Welsh had three degrees of rank under this tenure, the *Brenin* or king, the *Twysog* or duke, and the *Jarl* or earl. By the Irish these were all termed *Righ* or king. The second tenure was the *Uchelordir* or dominium, and consisted likewise of three degrees, the *Arglwd* or lord, the *Barwn*, and the *Brier* or squire. The same degrees were known to the Irish by the name of the *Tighern*, *Nemed*, and *Flath*. The third and last tenure was termed by the Welsh *Priodordir*, from *priodor*, signifying native, and included all whom we would now call tenants. Of these there were three degrees, the *Gwreange* or yeoman, the *Alltud* or labourer, and the *Kaeth* or slave. The Irish had likewise three degrees, and termed them severally *Füidir*, *Biadhtach*, and *Mogh*. The oldest account of the degrees of rank among the Highlanders is contained in a description given by an old sennachy of the government of the Isles under their Celtic lords, where we should expect to find the ancient usages of the Highlanders preserved with greater care. "The constitution or government of the Isles," says he, "was thus: Macdonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen, —viz., four thanes, four armins (that is to say, freemen, lords, or sub-thanes), four bastards (*i.e.*, squires or men of competent estates who could not come up with armins or thanes, that is, freeholders), four . . . or men that had their lands in factory, as Macghee, of the Rhinds of Isla; Macnicoll, in Portree, in Skye; and Maceachern and Macgillevrays, in Mull; Macillemhaol or Macmillan, &c. There was a table of stone where the council sat in the Isle of Finlaggan; the which table, with the stone on which Macdonald sat, was carried away by Argyll, with the bells that were at Icolmkill. Moreover, there was a judge in every isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had lands from Macdonald for their trouble, and likewise the eleventh part of

every action decided ; but there might still be an appeal to the council of the Isles. Macfinnon was obliged to see weights and measures adjusted, and Macduffie or Macphie, of Colonsay, kept the records of the Isles."

In this account it is plain that the Highland system was almost the same with the Welsh and Irish. The first tenure consisted, with them, of the Ard Righ, Righ and Maormor, of which latter the lord of the Isles was no unworthy representation. The Tighern or Thane, the Armin and the Squire were the same with the three Welsh degrees included under the Uchilordir, while the Highlanders had an order termed native men, clearly equivalent to the Priodordir of the Welsh. These native men, however, were just the tenants or farmers on the property, for Martin, in his admirable picture of the ancient customs of the Western Isles, says, that the peculiar acknowledgment made by the tenants to the chief of their clan was the calpe. "There was another duty payable by all the tenants to their chief, though they did not live upon his lands, and this is called Calpich ; there was a standing law for it also called Calpich law, and I am informed that this is exacted by some in the mainland to this day." And this is confirmed by Skene, who mentions in his work *De Verborum Significatione*, that Herezeld and Calpe were two duties paid by the tenant of more than the eighth of a davach to his landlord or chief. Now, we find this was likewise the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent upon the native men, for in the bonds of Manrent which exist between native men and their chief, we find them always giving their bonds of Manrent and "*Calpis*, as native men ought and could do to their chief," and that there is always an obligation for the due payment of the Calpe. We must be careful, however, to draw a proper distinction between the *nativi* or native men of Highland properties, and the *servi fugitivi* or *Cumerlach*, the latter of which were slaves, and the same as the Welsh *Kaeth*. These have all been hitherto most improperly confounded, and it has been assumed, that they were equally ascribed to the soil, but this was far from being the case. In all old charters they are carefully distinguished. The *servi* or *fugitivi* were absolute slaves, and might be bought and sold either with or independent of the land. The *nativi* were so termed not because they were

bound to the soil, but because they could not be removed from it at the will of their lord. It was not a restriction upon their liberty, but a privilege that gave them their peculiar name.

The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and who possessed, all over Scotland, but especially in the Highlands, a definite and recognized estate in the soil. So long as he performed his services he was not to be removed from his land, nor could the lord exact from him a higher rent or a greater proportion of labour than what was due, and of right accustomed to be given. Their great privilege, therefore was, that they held their farms by an inherent right which was not derived from their lord, and from which he could not remove them. And in this way we find that all old Highland alienations of land included the "*Nativis ad dictas terras pertinentibus*." The *servi* and *fugitivi* were the cottars and actual labourers of the soil, who were absolute slaves, and possessed no legal rights either of station or property. It is very remarkable, however, that the *servi* or slaves were confined entirely to the Lowlands of Scotland, not a trace of them being found in the Highlands; and as the existence of slavery of this description invariably points out a conquered people under the domination of another race, it forms a strong argument for the Highlanders being the original inhabitants of the country. Where a clan had retained their original property without addition or diminution, the whole of the families connected with it, from the Tighern to the native man, were unquestionably of the same race, and although the Tighern may have held his lands of the crown as a Norman baron, yet the Gaelic system of tenure would be preserved in his barony in all its purity. When a Norman baron obtained by succession or otherwise a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan and followed him to war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired, by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they

belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of Manrent to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the Calpe. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan.

With respect to the gradation of ranks in relation to the clan of which they were members, besides the righ or king, who, in point of rank and birth was originally on equality with the other chiefs, and merely derived some additional dignity during his life from his station, the highest title of honour among the Highlanders was anciently that of *Maormor*. The nature of this title has been sufficiently examined in another place, and from all the materials which have come down to us, it is very evident that the Maormors were the patriarchal chiefs of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided.

When the line of the ancient Maormors had gradually fallen before the influence of the feudal system and the introduction of the feudal barons, the clans into which the great tribes were divided appear in independence, and their leaders were known by the name of Ceann Cinné or chief, who was held to represent the common ancestor and founder of the clan, and who derived his dignity from that source. The peculiarities of the Gaelic chief are too well known to require any illustration, it may only be necessary to mention that it was an office possessed strictly by right of blood alone, and that nothing can be more erroneous or more inconsistent with the principles which regulated the form of society among the Highlanders than the opinion, so frequently expressed, that either election or a connexion by marriage could give any person a right to the chiefship who, according to the Highland principle of succession, was not the nearest male heir to that dignity. Next to the chief was the *Tanist*, or person entitled to succeed by the laws of Tanistry, who possessed that title during the life of the chief, and was considered a person of considerable consequence.

After the family of the chief came the Ceanntighes, or heads of the houses into which the clan was divided, among whom the most powerful was the oldest cadet or *Toisich*. It naturally followed from the law of Gavel, which produced a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he not unfrequently came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, that that branch which had been longest separated from the main stem became the most powerful. In this respect the Highland system exhibits a striking contrast to that of the feudal, and from the earliest period it was the *oldest* cadet who appears to have enjoyed, next to the chief, the highest dignity in the clan, and the principal post of honour when called into the field. His station was that of leading the van in the march, and in battle to occupy the right of the line when the chief was present; and in the absence of the chief to command the whole clan. Hence in Gaelic he was called *Toisich*, or the first, for there can be little doubt that the ancient Gaelic title of *Toisich* was peculiar to the oldest cadet. Dr. Macpherson, who was intimately acquainted with the exact meaning of ancient Gaelic phraseology and usages, says, "*Toisich* was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages; Spelman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *Toisich* from the *Tanistair* or the *Tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them.

"In Gaelic, *Tus*, *Tos*, and *Tosich* signify the beginning or first part of any thing, and sometimes the *front of an army or battle*. Hence the name *Toshich*."—(p. 185.)

It is remarkable that the signification given to the name *Toshich* by Dr. Macpherson implies the very post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege. Another character of the oldest cadet was that of maor or steward, in which his duties were to collect the revenues of the chief. When the feudal customs were introduced into the Highlands, this office became identified with the feudal baron-

bailie, and as the feudal law required that there should be a bailie for every barony, it soon ceased to be the peculiar office of any particular branch of the clan. The Gaelic name, however, retained for the office of Tosheadorach, sufficiently indicates that prior to the introduction of feudal customs it was the peculiar privilege of the Tosheach, or oldest cadet; and this is confirmed by every notice of the ancient Gaelic maors or seneschalli which have come down to us.

There was one remarkable result which followed from the power and consequence of this branch of the family, that when that of the chief, through peculiar circumstances, had become reduced so as not to be able to afford the clan the protection required from him, the clan frequently followed the oldest cadet instead of the chief, as on such occasions he became the most powerful person in the sept, and he thus often for a length of time enjoyed the possession of the dignity, consequence, and privileges of chief, without either possessing a right of blood to that station or acquiring the title of chief. It is plain that while clanship remained in its original and perfect state this could never be the case; but when the introduction of the feudal system had broken in upon the purity of clanship, and the territory of the chief had probably come into the possession of a Lowland baron by means of the feudal succession, or the chief had by some unsuccessful opposition to the government brought ruin upon himself, or any other cause which the introduction of the Lowland barons might have occasioned, had rendered him incapable of maintaining his station, the clan naturally sought the protection of the only family able to occupy the position of that of their chief, and accordingly this duty was necessarily sought for at the hands of the oldest cadet. On such occasions he did not assume the title of chief, but was known by that of *captain*, or leader of the clan.

As the term captain has generally been held to be synonymous with that of chief, and to import the head of a clan by right of blood as well as by possession, it may be necessary to say a few words regarding the nature of the title. It is plain that this dignity was one called forth by circumstances, and that it was not usual in the Highlands, because it appears to have been altogether unknown until a late period, and then

when it did come into use it was principally confined to three of the Highland clans only. These clans were the clan Chattan, clan Cameron, and clan Ranald, and if the title of captain was synonymous with that of chief, it is altogether impossible to conceive that it should have been confined to these clans alone, and that it did not prevail more generally over the Highlands. It is evident that a title, which was not universal among the Highland clans, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances connected with these clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was simply a person who had from various causes become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan. To enter minutely into this investigation here would lead to too great length; suffice it therefore to mention, that in each of these clans there is a controversy regarding the chiefship; that the family claiming that rank have in each asserted the family in possession of the captainship to have been merely the oldest cadet, and to have by usurpation or otherwise obtained their situation with the title of captain; and that when we come to the history of these clans, it will be proved that the captains of the clans were originally the oldest cadets, whom various circumstances had placed in that situation. There is one instance, however, which may be mentioned, as it seems to place the fact at once beyond all doubt. The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and this single occurrence of this peculiar title is just when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545 we find Archibald Maconuill captain of the clan Houston, and thus on the only occasion when this clan followed as chief a person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan.

Next to the Ceanntighes, or heads of houses, followed in rank the *Duine Uaisle*, or gentry of the clan. These constituted the only gradation subsisting between the chief and the actual body of the clan, forming a sort of link by which they were united. They were all cadets of the house of the chief, and could invariably trace their connexion step by step with his family.

We shall now conclude this short view of the gradation of ranks among the Highlanders by an account of the personal attendants of the chief, which we shall extract from the excellent Letters of an Officer of Engineers in 1716.

"When a chief goes a journey in the hills, or makes a formal visit to an equal, he is said to be attended by all or most part of the officers following, viz. :—

"The henchman.

"The bard or poet.

"The bladier or spokesman.

"The gillemore, bearer of the broadsword.

"The gillecasflue, to carry the chief when on foot over the fords.

"The gille comstraine, to lead the chief home in dangerous passes.

"The gille trusharnish or baggage-man.

"The piper, who, being a gentleman, I should have named sooner. And lastly,

"The piper's gillie, who carries the bagpipe.

"There are likewise some gentlemen near of kin who bear him company, and besides, a number of the common sort, who have no particular employment, but follow him only to partake of the cheer."

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION OF THE HIGHLANDERS—THE CULDEE CHURCH—ITS CONSTITUTION AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT—POETRY—OSSIAN CONSIDERED AS AN HISTORICAL POET—NEW PROOF OF HIS AUTHENTICITY—MUSIC.

THE Highlanders, like all other people who have long preserved their original manners and mode of life unaltered, possessed a peculiarly imaginative character. While their manners remained in primitive rudeness, while their occupations were still those peculiar to the early stages of society, the energy of savage nature displayed itself in the increased power of imagination and the engrossing influence of fancy. But these natural properties of primitive society were greatly heightened in the Highlanders by the wild and romantic aspect of their country, which exercised a powerful influence on their character; and the force of imagination over the Highlanders has consequently displayed itself from the earliest period in the wildest superstition and poetic fancy.

Pagan religion of the Highlanders.

What the ancient religion of the Highlanders was before the light of Christianity dawned upon them, whether the Druidical, as suspected by some, or a belief peculiar to themselves, would lead to too extensive an enquiry to ascertain. The direct authority upon this subject is not great. Tacitus mentions, that when the Caledonian clans united for the purpose of opposing Agricola, that they ratified their confederacy by solemn sacrifices. The only other writer from whom any information can be obtained is Adomnan, from whom it appears, that the Picts, whom we have formerly shown to have been the ancestors of the Highlanders, were possessed of a religious establishment of priests, and that a Pagan religion, full of the usual ceremonies and superstitions, existed among them. The most authentic record, perhaps, of the nature of that

religion exists in the numerous stone monuments and circles which have remained, and may still be seen in such profusion, in spite of the ravages of time, the zeal of early converts to Christianity, and the consequences of agricultural improvement; and there can be little doubt that a comparison of these interesting monuments, in connection with the few historical facts on the subject which are known, would afford a curious and sufficiently accurate picture of the nature of that ancient

religion. The conversion of the northern Picts to Christianity took place in the sixth century, and was effected by the preaching of St. Columba, whose memory is still regarded with veneration by the Highlanders as the great apostle of their nation. The form of church government established by him in the north of Scotland was of a very peculiar nature, and is deserving of some notice, as well from that circumstance as from its having given rise to a modern controversy of unusual length and bitterness. In the Christian church founded by that great man, and afterwards termed the Culdee Church, the zealous Presbyterian sees at that early period the model of a pure Presbyterian government, and the great principle of clerical equality acknowledged in a remote and obscure island, at a period when the rest of the world submitted willingly and blindly to Episcopal supremacy. The devout believer in the apostolic origin and authority of Episcopacy can discover nothing essentially different from the diocesan episcopacy which was at that time universal in Christian churches; and the Roman Catholic sees evidence of the existence of his own peculiar doctrines in that church which both the other parties are agreed in pronouncing to be the solitary exception to the universal prevalence of its dogmas and the earliest witness against its corruptions. When a controversy of this nature has arisen regarding the constitution of an early Christian church, it is manifest that that church must have possessed considerable peculiarities of form and character, and that it must in some respects have differed from the other churches of the period. If in no respect distinct in form or doctrine from the generality of Christian societies of that period, it is difficult to conceive how any doubt could have arisen as to its polity; and it is still more difficult to suppose that it could have presented an exact

counterpart to a modern system of church government, confessedly formed upon no ancient model, and the invention of the sixteenth century. Each party has unfortunately been more anxious to prove its resemblance to their own cherished system of church government than to ascertain its actual constitution. They have eagerly seized hold of every circumstance which appeared to favour their hypothesis, and attempted to neutralise and explain away whatever was adverse to their system; but until we find it impossible, from an impartial examination of all the scattered notices of the history of the Culdee church which have come down to us, to extract a consistent form of church government, although that form may have been a peculiar one, we are not entitled to assume, *à priori*, that the form of the Culdee church must have been the same with some known form of church government, and in consequence to disregard any embarrassing notice, however trivial. The obscurity which attends this subject has arisen from various causes. We cannot expect to find in the older writers much information regarding the internal history of the country, because, while they anxiously recorded the principal events of its external history, there was nothing in its manners and form of society to strike them as peculiar or worthy of commemoration. With regard to the Christian church established in the country the case is different, for when we consider that at that period all Christian churches possessed essentially the same form of government, and that a form believed to be of apostolic institution, we may well suppose that if the Culdee church differed essentially from other churches in any important particular, that that circumstance would be carefully recorded by every ecclesiastical writer; and if we find that ecclesiastical writers do impute peculiarities to that church, we may safely conclude that, with the exception of the differences of form mentioned by these writers, it must in all other respects have been similar to other Christian societies throughout the world. Modern writers have added much to the difficulty of the question by overlooking the fact, that the Culdee church of Scotland was the offspring of the church founded in Ireland a century before by St. Patrick, and by persisting in viewing the Culdee church as it existed in Scotland unconnected with its mother church, although it formed an essential part of that

church for many centuries after its foundation by Columba; but the difficulty has been increased still more by not distinguishing between the different churches which existed at the same time in Ireland and in Britain. During the occupation of Britain by the Romans, that island was inhabited by two races—the Britons and the Picts, and the latter were divided into two nations of the southern and northern Picts; Ireland at the same period was also inhabited by two races—the Scots, who possessed the south and west, and the Cruithne, or Irish Picts, who inhabited the north and east.¹ In the fourth century the Scots brought the whole island under subjection, and after that period, while their name extended over the whole of Ireland, we find the two races distinguished by the titles of the Southern Scots and Northern Scots. The Britons were the first of these different races who became Christian, and after them the Scots, both having been apparently converted to Christianity before the departure of the Romans from the island. After that event we find, in A.D. 431, Palladius sent from Rome as Primus Episcopus² to the "*Scotos in Christum Credentes*," and in the following year Patrick made his mission to Ireland. It would be unnecessary here to refute the absurd idea formerly held, that the Scots to whom Palladius was sent were the Scots of Britain, as there is no point which has been so clearly established as the fact that his mission was to Ireland; but historians have been much puzzled to reconcile the mission of Palladius with that of Patrick. Patrick unquestionably converted his Scots from Paganism, and that for the first time; Palladius, it is equally certain, was sent but one year before to Scots already Christian. Many attempts have been made to account for this, all of which are equally unsatisfactory. But when we find, on examining the best authorities, that Saint Patrick in fact converted the people of the north of Ireland only, that he founded his archiepiscopal seat at Armagh in Ulster, and that the jurisdiction of that primate never extended beyond that part of the island, the inhabitants of which were

¹ See *infra*.

² Much confusion has arisen among our historians by mistaking the meaning of the expression "Primus Epis-

copus." It most certainly signified first bishop, in respect of dignity, or primate, not first bishop in order of time.

termed the northern Scots, it will appear very plain that the Scoti in Christum Credentes, to whom Palladius was sent as primate, were the southern Scots, or Scots proper, and that Saint Patrick's mission was directed principally to the Irish Picts, or northern Scots, who alone formed his church. In A.D. 414, Ninian, a bishop of the British church, converted the southern Picts to Christianity; and in 565, Columba, a presbyter of the church founded by Saint Patrick, by the conversion of the king of the northern Picts, added that nation to the church, which previously consisted of the northern Scots of Ireland only. To the same church also belonged the Scots of Britain, who came over from the north of Ireland sixty years before the arrival of Saint Columba. Now, it must be remarked that the churches of Britain, of the southern Scots founded by Palladius, and of the southern Picts by Ninian, had all emanated from Rome; and although they did not owe ecclesiastical obedience to the aspiring bishops of that city, they unquestionably derived their form of government and worship from her, and, accordingly, when again brought in contact with their mother church, in the person of Augustine, they were not found to differ in any essential particular. The church of the northern Picts and northern Scots, to which the name of Culdee was afterwards given, and which owed its origin to St. Patrick, was in a very different situation, for it as unquestionably emanated from the church of Gaul, a church always opposed to that of Rome, and claiming a descent from the church of Ephesus, and its founder, St. John the Evangelist; and it was under the teaching of St. Martin of Tours that St. Patrick framed the system of church government which he afterwards introduced. The principal writer from whom any information regarding the Culdee church is to be derived is the Venerable Bede, and we accordingly find that writer imputing to the Culdee church certain peculiarities in its outward form and government which he implies not to have existed in other churches.

The passage in Bede upon which both parties found their principal argument with regard to the form of government in the Culdee church, is the following:—"Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipso etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato debeant

esse subjecti justa exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus." From this passage the Presbyterian argues that if a presbyter possessed the supreme government of the church, it must have been essentially a Presbyterian church, and overcomes the objection derived from the mention of bishops by asserting that the word had a different signification in the Culdee church from that in other churches, and did not imply a distinct or superior order of clergy. The Episcopalian justly argues that Bede must have used the word episcopus in its ordinary sense, and consequently that the church must have been an Episcopalian one; but he attempts to explain the anomalous circumstance of these bishops being subject to a presbyter by asserting that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, and that the episcopi who were subject to the presbyter abbot were merely those bishops of Iona over whom the abbot had some jurisdiction in temporal matters. But it is manifest that neither of these explanations are satisfactory, and that an impartial consideration of this passage would bring us to a very different conclusion from either. By the use of the words "*ordine inusitato*," it is plain that the only anomalous circumstance connected with Iona was the subjection of the bishops to its presbyter abbot. By confining the expression to this circumstance, he clearly implies that the church possessed an order of bishops exactly in the same manner as other churches; nor, if the episcopi were not a separate and superior order, but merely implied certain missionaries, as the Presbyterians allege, do we see any room for the remark that their subjection to the abbot was an unusual institution.

On the other hand, if the Episcopalians are right in asserting that there was nothing unusual or anomalous in the constitution of the Culdee church with the exception that the Abbot of Iona exercised jurisdiction over the Bishop of Iona in some temporal matters, independently of the fact that we cannot trace either in the Irish Annals, which contain many particulars regarding Iona, or in other historians, the smallest trace of any Bishop of Iona different from the Abbot of Iona, it is difficult to suppose that Bede would have intimated the existence of an unusual form of government in the strong and precise terms which he

uses. But that the Culdee church was essentially an episcopal church, and possessed an order of bishops distinct from and superior to that of the presbyter, is very clear, both from an impartial consideration of the language of Bede throughout, and from other writers.

In mentioning the mission of Aidan and of Finan to the Northumbrians, Bede adds in both cases that they were sent "*accepto gradu Episcopatus*," and what Bede implied by the "*gradus Episcopatus*" abundantly appears from the case of Cedd, who was ordained Bishop of Finan. The words of Bede are "*qui (Finan) ubi prosperatum ei opus evangelii comperit, fecit eum (Cedd) episcopum in gentem orientalium Saxonum, vocatus ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis: qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad provinciam et majore auctoritate cœptum opus explens, fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinavit*," &c.

In another part of his work he mentions that Pope John wrote a letter to the heads of the Scottish or Culdee church, which letter bore this superscription, "*Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Thomiano Columbano, Chromano, Dimae et Bartano episcopis, Chromano, Hermannoque Laistrano, Stellano et Segeno presbyteris, Sarano ceterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scotis*";¹ which implies both the existence and the superiority of the episcopal order in the church. Adomnan is equally distinct that the bishops were a superior order to the presbyters. He narrates that Columba upon one occasion sent for a priest at the consecration of the eucharist, and that suddenly casting a look at him, he desired him to use the privilege of his order, and break the bread according to the episcopal mode.² The unavoidable inference from these passages is unquestionably that the Culdee church was no exception to the universal prevalence of episcopacy in Christian churches at that period, and to this inference the Presbyterian party oppose merely the passage of Bede formerly quoted; but allowing to that passage its fullest force, to which the other passages are equally entitled, the fact there stated is not only, as we shall afterwards see, compatible with

¹ Bede, lib. ii., c. 19.

sis episcopus."—Adom. Vit. S. Columb., lib. i., c. 16.

² "*Hunc solus episcopus episcopali ritu frange panem—nunc scimus quod*

the existence of episcopacy in that church, but the direct inference from the passage unquestionably is that the Culdee church possessed an order of bishops superior to that of the presbyters.

The Culdee church being, then, essentially an episcopal church, let us now examine its peculiarities, and in what respects it differed from the form of church government universally prevalent at that period; and in doing so it will be necessary to bear in mind that the Culdee church included the province of the northern Scots in Ireland, as well as the northern Picts in Scotland, and that it was the work of St. Patrick in the fifth century, not that of Columba in the sixth (as generally supposed), who merely added the nation of the northern Picts to its jurisdiction.

In the year 380, about fifty-two years before the Culdee church was established by Saint Patrick, the monastic system was for the first time introduced into Europe by Saint Martin of Tours; and previous to the rise of this extraordinary and powerful institution, the Catholic clergy consisted merely of the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

The bishops were, generally speaking, seated in the principal towns, and exercised an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a certain extent of the surrounding country which formed his diocese, while the spiritual wants of its inhabitants were supplied by the subordinate orders of presbyters and deacons. Such was the state of the clergy when the Culdee church took its origin, but a new institution had arisen in the East, which was destined afterwards almost to supplant the clergy, and to wield the whole power of the Establishment. Although they subsequently attained this extraordinary elevation, yet at the time of which we speak the monasteries had barely risen to a station which placed them on a par with the clergy. Originally the monasteries were societies exclusively composed of laymen, who adopted this mode of retiring from the active duties of the world, and devoting themselves to a life of contemplation and devotion. Their spiritual wants were supplied by the bishop and presbyters of the diocese in which the monastery was situated, and to whose jurisdiction they were subject in ecclesiastical matters. Subsequently they found it expedient to procure a presbyter for the head of their monastery, and after

this period the abbots of the monasteries were universally presbyters, while the monks remained laymen as before. They thus in some degree dispensed with the services of the neighbouring clergy, and while the bishop was obliged to render assistance to the monastery in matters which belonged exclusively to his order to perform, the abbot was relieved entirely from his jurisdiction. Such was the condition of these societies when Saint Martin established the first European monastery at Tours. The monks still consisted of laymen, and the abbot was an ordained presbyter. The dangerous consequences likely to result from such an institution, if elevated beyond its original position, were not seen, and its advantages and merits were over-estimated to such a degree as to facilitate their rapid advance to power. To the progress which they had already made, Martin added the step of providing a bishop for the exclusive use of the monastery, who was elected by the abbot and monks, and ordained by the adjacent bishops to the end that he might preach and do episcopal offices in the monastery; and this bishop was obliged to reside within its walls, and submit to its monastic rule. In this state Saint Patrick arrived at Tours, and there can be little doubt that it was under the teaching of Saint Martin, who was his uncle, that he framed the system of church polity which he afterwards introduced into Ireland. In that system we should consequently expect to find the same weight and preference given to the monastic institutions over the clerical which Saint Martin had already manifested, and that the same effect should follow from that preference, of an additional step in their progress being attained by the monastic orders at the expense of the secular clergy.

Now, in examining the Culdee monasteries, the first peculiarity which strikes us is, that the monks were no longer laymen, but ordained clergymen,¹ and in this that church is certainly an exception to all other churches. But we find a still more remarkable peculiarity in their system, for we see many of the abbots of their monasteries possessing the same character, exercising the same functions, and in every respect occupying

¹This fact is acknowledged by all who have written upon the subject, although the inference to be drawn

from it, and the peculiarity of such a circumstance, does not appear to have been perceived.

the same position with the bishops of the other churches ; and we find the monasteries over which these abbots presided possessing a jurisdiction over a certain extent of territory in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the bishops did in other churches. Now, when we add to this fact that although, as we have seen, the episcopal order existed in this church, we find it impossible to trace the existence of any individual bishop distinct from the abbot of the monastery, the presumption naturally arises in the mind that the great peculiarity of the Culdee church was the union of the clerical and monastic orders into one collegiate system, where the abbot and the bishop was the same person, and the inferior orders of presbyters and deacons formed the monks who were under his control ; and accordingly, on an attentive examination of the older historians, we find that this was actually the case. We can distinctly trace a division of the Culdee abbots into two orders, of “*abbates et episcopi*” and of “*abbates et presbyteri* ;” thus, in the letter addressed by Pope John to the Culdees, the superscription implies that the five bishops as well as the five presbyters were abbots, and we accordingly find in the Irish Annals several of these bishops and presbyters mentioned as abbots. Besides this, the bishop-abbots are frequently alluded to in these Annals.¹ This distinction appears to have been drawn between monasteries which

¹ In Tighernac the following of those to whom the letter is addressed are mentioned :—

OF THE BISHOPS.

- A.D. 661. Death of Tomene, *Abbot-bishop* of Armagh.
 — 654. Death of Colman, *Bishop* of the O'Telly's and *Abbot* of Cluanirard.
 — 643. Death of Cronan, *Bishop* of Autrim.
 — 659. Death of Dima, *Bishop* of Conere.

OF THE PRESBYTERS.

- 650. Death of Cronan, *Abbot* of Meighe Bile.
 — 646. Death of Laiere, *Abbot* of Bencair.

A.D. 652. Death of Segine, *Abbot* of Iona.

— 662. Death of Saran, *Abbot* of the O'Cridans.

One of the Bishops and two of the presbyters are not mentioned in these Annals, and were therefore probably in Scotland.

Of bishop-abbots, besides the two above mentioned, I find in Tighernac the following :—

A.D. 663. Tuenoc, the son of Findlain, *Abbot* of Ferna, and Dimna, *two bishops*, died.

— 687. Death of Osen, *Bishop* of the *Monastery* of Finntan.

— 715. Celine, *Bishop*-*abbot* of Ferna, died.

— 718. Death of Dubduin, *Bishop*-*abbot* of Cluanirard.

had been founded by the primate, and the abbots of which were ordained bishops, and the monasteries which had emanated from those ruled by a bishop-abbot, which, being intended to remain subordinate to the monastery from which they proceeded, and not to form a separate jurisdiction, were governed by presbyter-abbots, and resembled in many respects the chorepiscopi of the ancient church, and the archdeaconries of the present established church of England.

The character of the Culdee church, then, may be considered to have been in its polity a collegiate system, as carried to its fullest extent. In its mode of operation it may be viewed as a missionary church, and this was a system which was evidently peculiarly adapted to the state and character of the people among whom the church was established.

Both the nation of the northern Scots of Ireland and that of the northern Picts of Scotland consisted at that time of a union of several tribes, when the power of the king was circumscribed and his influence small; while the turbulent chiefs, almost independent, and generally at war with each other, rendered the royal protection unavailable for the security of any church constituted as most Christian churches at that time were. The Culdee polity preserved the principle of clerical subordination and centralisation, then and justly considered indispensable for the efficiency of a Christian church, while it avoided the dangers arising from the peculiar form of society of their converts by the peculiar form of government which their church assumed. Enclosed in a monastery with their ecclesiastical superior, the clergy were safe from aggression, and issuing forth as missionaries from its walls in time of peace, they carried the blessings of Christianity to the savage members of the tribe in which they had been cast.

Of the history of the Culdee church little is known, and the annalists merely afford a few of the leading changes which took place in its external form. At first it consisted of the province of the northern Scots in Ireland alone, and the primacy over the whole church was vested in the monastery of Armagh, the bishop of which was styled *Primus Episcopus*. The province was inhabited by numerous tribes, in each of which a monastery was gradually founded, governed by a bishop-abbot, whose

jurisdiction extended over the territories of the tribe¹ in which his monastery was placed; and where the spiritual necessities of his diocese required an additional establishment of clergy, a subordinate monastery was founded, over which a presbyter only was placed. In 565, Columba, the presbyter-abbot of the monastery of Dearmagh, which had emanated from that of Cluanirard, over which Finan ruled as bishop-abbot, converted Brude, king of the northern Picts, and added that nation to the Culdee church. The monastery of Iona, of course, remained of that subordinate species ruled by a presbyter-abbot, and accordingly it appears that the additional monasteries required by the exigencies of the infant church in the Highlands were still for many years afterwards supplied from the episcopal monasteries of Ireland. In the middle of the seventh century the primacy was removed, for what cause we know not, from Armagh to Scotland.² The great veneration and sanctity which attached to the character of Saint Columba, as first apostle of the Picts, had invested the monastery of Iona, which he had founded, with a superiority over the other Pictish monasteries, and consequently the primacy became the undoubted right of that monastery; but the almost idolatrous veneration entertained for Saint Columba, produced the anomalous and extraordinary departure from the principle of episcopacy of the abbot of Iona assuming the primacy of the Culdee church and retaining his character of presbyter. That such was the fact it is impossible to avoid admitting, if full force be given to the passage of Bede, frequently alluded to; but that this is incompatible with the existence and privileges of the episcopal order there is no reason for thinking; nor if this explanation, resulting from an impartial examination of the history of the church and the language of the old writers, be admitted, is it possible to produce a single passage which would infer that the Culdee church was not

¹ In Tighernac the bishop-abbots of the different monasteries are frequently styled bishop of the tribe in which the monastery was situated, thus—

A.D. 579. Death of Mani, Bishop of the O'Fiatachs.

See two instances in the former note.

² Cujus monasterium (Iona) in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnibus Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat.—Bede, lib. iii., cap. 3.

essentially, and in the strictest meaning of the term, an episcopal church.

On the transference of the primacy from Armagh to Iona, many of the other monasteries of the Picts became episcopal, and were placed under the government of the bishop-abbot. In this state the church continued with little variation till the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Dalriada. The church which previously existed among the southern Picts was one of those which had emanated, though not immediately, from Rome, and it differed in no essential particular from other churches. On the conquest of that race by the Scots, the Culdee church and system of polity was introduced by the conquerors, and in consequence of this great accession of territory to the Culdee church, and of the ruin of the Irish part of their Establishment by the Danes, the primacy was once more removed from Iona to Dunkeld, a church belonging to the northern Picts; and this monastery being an episcopal one, the anomalous form of government which had resulted from the primacy of Iona ceased for ever.¹ With Dunkeld the primacy continued for forty years only, for the Culdee churches established by Kenneth in the conquered territory of the southern Picts, and which were peculiarly Scottish, appear to have become jealous of their subjection to the Pictish bishop of Dunkeld, and to have taken advantage of the usurpation of the throne by Grig, a chief of the northern Picts, to procure from him, probably as the price of their submission, the removal of the primacy from Dunkeld to Saint Andrews.² After this period there appears to have been no alteration in the outward form of the church until the reign of David.

¹ It is universally admitted that Dunkeld was founded after the conquest, by Kenneth M'Alpine. That the primacy was likewise removed to it appears from the two following passages in the Annals of Ulster:—

A.D. 864. Tuathal Mac Artguso, *Primus Episcopus* of Fortren and Abbot of Dunkeld, died.

— 872. Flaibhertach Mac Murcetaigh, *Princeps* of Dunkeld, died.

² The Chronicon Elegiacum says of Grig, "Qui dedit Ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit"; and as it is in this reign that the Bishop of St. Andrews is first termed "*Primus Episcopus*," it is plain that the above passage refers to a removal of the primacy to the Scottish church of St. Andrews.

There are few facts in the early history of the Christian church more striking than the remarkable ease and pliability with which the church adapted itself in its outward form to the political constitution of the countries in which it was established. When Christianity was established by the Emperor Constantine as the religion of Europe, we see the extreme facility with which the church assumed a polity formed after the model of the Roman. On the fall of the empire by the invasions of the northern barbarians, the Christian church alone maintained its position, and again adapted itself to the forms of society which arose among these nations when settled in its territories.

In the Culdee church this quality of the early Christian societies is no less apparent. When confined to the north of Ireland, which was inhabited by a number of independent tribes, scarcely owing subjection to a common head, we find the diocese of the episcopal monasteries corresponding to the extent and numbers of these tribes; and when the same system was introduced into Scotland, we should naturally expect to find the same accurate adaptation of the church to its territorial divisions. The districts occupied by the early tribes of Scotland are in every respect the same with those territorial divisions which were afterwards known as earldoms, and accordingly there is nothing more remarkable than the exact accordance between these earldoms and the position of the episcopal monasteries, so far as they can be traced. This will appear from the following table:—

<i>Culdee Monasteries.</i>	<i>Earldoms or Tribes.</i>
St. Andrews	Fife.
Dunblane	Stratherne; Menteith, not an old earldom.
Scone	Gowrie.
Brechin	Angus; Mearns, formerly part of Angus.
Monymusk	Mar.
Mortlach	Buchan.
Birney (Moray)	Moray.
Rosemarkie	Ross.
Dornoch	Caithness.
Iona	Garmoran.
Dunkeld	Atholl; Argyll, part of Atholl.

The exact coincidence of these dioceses with the most ancient territorial divisions, forms an important and sure guide in ascertaining the extent and history of the latter.

David I. is generally supposed to have altogether overthrown the Culdee church, and to have introduced the Roman Catholic clergy in their place; but this is a most erroneous view of the nature and extent of the alteration effected by him. To give a complete view of the change which took place in his reign would lead to too great length here; it may be sufficient to mention that it appears, from all the authentic information on the subject that remains to us, that the alteration produced by him affected the church in three particulars only. First, by the establishment of parochial clergy, and consequently superseding the missionary system which had hitherto supplied the spiritual wants of the people. Secondly, by the introduction of the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic church into the country; and, thirdly, by appointing a bishop over the parochial clergy, and declaring the territory over which the Culdee monastery had exercised their jurisdiction to be his diocese, in the Roman Catholic sense of the word. The extent and number of the dioceses remained unaltered, being just those which had previously existed among the Culdees. The bishop was almost invariably the Culdee abbot, who was taken out of his monastery; his place was supplied by an officer termed a prior, and wherever the privilege was not expressly taken from them, the prior and Culdee college constituted the dean and chapter of the diocese, and elected the same person as bishop whom they would formerly have elected to precisely the same office under the title of abbot.

Such is a short sketch of the peculiar form which the Christian church, established among the Picts or Highlanders of Scotland, assumed on their conversion from Paganism by the exertions of St. Columba, the great apostle of their nation. But, while the influence of Christianity, and the zeal with which it was propagated, soon dispelled the public and general worship of false gods, and substituted the true religion as a professed belief in place of their former idolatry; yet, as might be expected from a character so enthusiastic as that of the Highlanders, a great part of the spirit of that

Superstitions
of the High-
landers.

idolatry remained under the appearance of Christianity, and exhibited itself in the wild and fanciful superstitions of the Highlanders and the superstitious practices which they still observed on their holidays.

To enter into this subject at all would lead to an investigation of a length altogether incompatible with the limits of this work, and it is with regret that we leave a subject which affords such a curious and interesting picture of the Highland mind. It may perhaps be sufficient to remark, with a view to direct the enquiries of others, that the superstitions of the Highlanders consisted principally of three kinds: first, a belief in a species of supernatural beings, termed by them *Daoine-shith*, or fairies; secondly, a belief in the influence of departed spirits over the affairs of this life; and thirdly, in second-sight, a subject of considerable difficulty, and one altogether peculiar to the Highlanders. Besides their superstitious belief, the spirit of their ancient idolatry was retained in many of their festivals, the principal of which was the *Beltain*, or first day of May, and *Samhuin*, or Allhallow eve; in the practices observed by them on these days may still be traced the rites of their ancient religion. Although their idolatrous worship had been superseded by Christianity, yet, as long as the feuds and their constant habits of predatory warfare remained among them, they do not appear to have imbibed much of its spirit. A French writer of the early part of last century remarks, "Ils se disent Chrétiens, mais toute leur religion est fort tenebreuse, et ils ne craignent guères ni Dieu ni Diable." The case is now very different, for since peace has been restored to the hills they have advanced with wonderful rapidity, and they may now with truth be called the most moral and religious part of the population of Scotland.

Poetry. Among savage nations poetry is always the first vehicle of history; before any regular means are taken for perpetuating a knowledge of the early history of their tribes, they are usually in the habit of reciting in verse the deeds of their forefathers, and their early traditions are thus handed down from the most remote antiquity. This custom, although common to all nations in a primitive stage of society, was peculiarly so to the Highlanders. The natural disposition of a hunting and pastoral people for poetry and

hyperbole, was increased in them by the peculiar and imaginative nature of their character, by their secluded situation, and the romantic aspect of their country; and thus poetry was from the earliest period almost the only medium by which a knowledge of the great events of their early history, the achievements of their forefathers, and the illustrious examples presented for their emulation was conveyed to the Highlanders, and the warlike and somewhat chivalrous character of the nation preserved.

Of this species of historical poetry, a very ancient and remarkable specimen has been preserved to us in the Albanic Duan, a poem, written in the eleventh century, and containing the earliest traditions of the origin of the nation before the fables of the Scottish monks had full sway in the country; but, by a fate altogether singular in the case of the Highlanders, a complete body of these ancient versified histories have been handed down in the poems of Ossian. It is not

Historical
system of
Ossian.

my intention here to enter into the much disputed question of the authenticity of these poems, taken as a whole; public opinion has long been made up as to their literary merit, and no proof of their authenticity which could be adduced could make any alteration in that opinion. When considered as a poet, it only remains for the individual admirers of Ossian to examine the claims of his works to be considered as the productions of a remote age; but when looked upon as an historian, it becomes a matter of great and general importance that the question of their authenticity should be set at rest. It is now universally admitted that the ground-work of these poems is ancient, while it is generally held that upon that foundation a modern superstructure has been raised; with that question we have here nothing to do, but the point to be determined is, whether the historical system contained in the poems of Ossian is a part of that ancient ground-work, and an actual record of the events of remote ages, handed down through a long course of centuries, or whether it is the invention of a modern and ignorant antiquary. It has long been adduced, as a great objection to the authenticity of these poems, that the system of history contained in them is untrue, and that it is diamet-

rically opposed to the real history. The historical facts contained in Ossian relate principally to Ireland, and the difference between the Ossianic system and that generally believed may be stated in a very few words. The system maintained by the Irish writers is, that Ireland was inhabited by one race of people termed Scots, who are said to have come from Spain: that they divided Ireland into four provinces, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, each of which was governed by a petty king of the Scottish race: over these kings was placed a monarch, who reigned at Fara, in Meath, and these monarchs were all of the same Scottish line, and can be traced from father to son. The Ossianic system is very different from this. According to Ossian, Ireland was inhabited by two races of people: the south of Ireland was possessed by a people termed by him Firbolg; the north by Gael, who came originally from Scotland. These two peoples, according to Ossian, were constantly at war with each other; and in the second century the Firbolgs, by a series of victories having obtained possession of the greater part of Ireland, Conar, the brother of the King in Scotland, came over to the assistance of the Gael, and driving the Firbolgs out of the northern part of Ireland, founded a race of kings, who ruled in Temora or Tara, in Meath. The kings of the race of Conar remained on the throne till the middle of the third century, when the Firbolgs, under the command of Cairpre, again obtained the upper hand.

These systems of history are, it will be observed, diametrically opposed to each other, but if it should appear that the system of Irish history, now believed, is not older than the fourteenth century, and that the history contained in the Irish Annals before that time is identic with that of Ossian; and if it should also appear that these older annals were unpublished, and inaccessible at the time Ossian was published, and even for centuries before that time, and that the very existence of a different system being contained in these older annals was unknown, it is plain, not only that this objection must fall to the ground, but that it must follow, as an incontestable proposition, that these poems were not the work of Macpherson, but must have been older, at least, than the fourteenth century.

The proof of these facts will be taken from the Annals of Tighernac and Innisfallen, the oldest and most authentic annals which the Irish possess. The former is a work of the eleventh century; the latter was written in the beginning of the thirteenth. The book remained inaccessible to all but those who could read the ancient Irish language and character, and were for the first time printed, along with a Latin translation, in the year 1825. Before entering upon the subject of inquiry, it will be necessary to make one remark, in order that the argument may be distinctly understood, which is, that in all the Irish annals the name given to the earliest inhabitants of Scotland is *Cruithne*, and this appellation is always applied by them to the inhabitants of Scotland, in contradistinction to the Scots, or inhabitants of Ireland.

In the first place, therefore, it can be proved from Tighernac that the Ultonians, or inhabitants of the north of Ireland, were Cruithne, and therefore must have come from Scotland. The kings of Ulster were also called kings of Eamania; thus, Tighernac says, Elim, son of Conrach, reigned in Eamania ten years, and afterwards Fiachia was killed by Elim, son of Conrach, that is, by the king of Ulster. Again, he says, Angus Fin, king of Eamania, reigns, and afterwards he says a battle was fought by Cormac against the Ultonians, in which Angus Fin, with his Ultonians were routed; and that the kings, both of Ulster and Eamania, were called kings of the Cruithne, appears from the following passages. In 236, he says, Fiacha Araide reigns in Eamania ten years, and afterwards he reports a battle between Cormac and the king of Munster against Fiacha Araidhe and the Cruithne. Again, he says, in the year 565, Diarmait is killed by Black Hugh, king of Ulster; and Adomnan, alluding to the same transaction, says that Diormit was killed by "*Aidus nigrus Cruithnicum gente,*" by nation a Cruithne.

It appears, therefore, from Tighernac, that the north of Ireland was inhabited by a people of the same race with the inhabitants of Scotland. Secondly, it can be proved from Tighernac and the Annals of Innisfallen, that a people called Bolgas inhabited the west and south of Ireland. Thus Tighernac says, that Fiacha, King of Ireland, was killed in

Temora, or as others relate, in the Plains of Bolgas; and the Annals of Innisfallen mention Hugh, king of Connaught, and at the same time say that he was of the race of Bolgas. The same annals mention, in 332, a battle in Fermoy by three Collas, along with the seven tribes of the Bolgas, who are called Oilnegmacht, from inhabiting Connaught.

We thus see that the Ossianic system of history is supported by these old annalists in the few facts recorded, and that in direct opposition to the later and generally believed system.

We now come to the particular details of the history which extend during the second and third centuries, and in the following table the two systems are confronted with each other, with a view to the distinct understanding of the argument, as follows :—

IRISH SYSTEM.	OSSIANIC SYSTEM.
<i>One people in Ireland called Scots.</i>	<i>Two races in Ireland. In the North, the Gael; South, the Bolga.</i>
Conn, King of Temora . . .	Conar, a Gael from Alban.
Art	Art.
Cormac	Cormac, killed by
Cairpre	Cairpre, King of the Bolga.

It will be seen that in the Irish, or generally believed system, four kings are made to succeed each other, from father to son, during that period; while in the Ossianic system, Conar, a Scottish chief, comes over to Ireland and founds a family of kings of his own line, and his grandson, Cormac, is killed by Cairpre, of the race of the Bolgas, who in consequence mounted the throne.

In corroboration of this, I remark, first, that Conn is said by Tighernac to have conquered the northern half of Ireland from the Momonians, or inhabitants of Munster, and that he is called by him of the race of the Cruithne. Thus, he remarks, counting all the kings after Conn was on the throne, seven kings of the race of the Cruithne reigned over Ireland, of course

including Conn in that race. Secondly, all agree that Conn was succeeded by his son Art or Arthur, and Art by his son Cormac. Thirdly, Cairpre is not made by Tighernac the son of Cormac, but his father is not given at all. And the Annals of Innisfallen shew that he was of the race of the Bolgas, for Tighernac says in 322 that Fiach, King of Ireland, was killed by the three Collas, sons of Eacho, who was son of Cairpre; and the Annals of Innisfallen say that the battle was fought by the Collas along with the seven tribes of Bolgas, thus showing that Cairpre, their grandfather, must also have been of that race.

We thus see that Ossian is supported throughout by the old Irish annals, and that even when he is in direct opposition to the system of Irish history at present received. Now when we consider that the history contained in these old annals was *unknown*, and the annals themselves unpublished when the poems of Ossian were first given to the world, we must come to the conclusion that the poems are necessarily as old *at least* as the fourteenth century, and that in them we have handed down to us a complete body of the most ancient historical poems by which a knowledge of the early history of the country was preserved to posterity.¹ It may, however, be proper to notice here shortly some of the other objections which have been made to Ossian as a historian.

One objection is, that the Lochlannach, or Norwegians, are mentioned in these poems, but that the Norwegians did not appear on the coasts of Britain till the ninth century. In answer to this I have only to remark, that the word Lochlannach applies equally to all the tribes inhabiting Scandinavia and the North of Germany, and to mention the well-known piracies of the Saxons, who infested the shores of Britain from the second century to the fourth, when they were defeated and

¹An argument of the same nature has been used with great success by the well-known Danish antiquary, Finn Magnussen. He proves that the Odenism, or religion of the Lochlans, as contained in Ossian, is a correct picture of the ancient religion of the Scandinavians, and that the real nature

of that religion was unknown to modern scholars when Macpherson published his Ossian, and could not have been known to him. Finn Magnussen is unquestionably the best authority on the subject of the religion of the Eddas.

driven out of the Orkneys by Theodosius. Another objection is, that Ossian places the Plain of Moylena in Ulster, while in fact it is in Meath.¹ To answer this, I must refer again to the Irish annals, and to the best Irish antiquaries, from whom it appears that there existed an extensive and well-known plain in Ulster under that name. O'Flaherty mentions, p. 193—"Tuathal built Rathmor, or the Great Palace, in the Plains of Moylena, in Ulster." O'Connor also, the best and most learned of the Irish antiquaries, under the word "Rathmor Moylena," says—"Arx magna *campi Lena* amplissima et antiquissima *Ultoniæ* post Eamnaniam etsi ab aliis constructa habeatur regnante Tuathalie," A.D. 130.

The place is mentioned three times in Tighernac, under the years 161, 565, and 682. It will be unnecessary to enter into a detailed examination of these passages, and it will be sufficient to mention that they show very clearly *that the Plain of Moylena was in Ulster*. A third objection is, that Ossian places Temora, the well-known palace of the kings of Ireland, in Ulster, while its situation is known to have been in Meath; but in this objection very great injustice is done to Ossian, for it is assumed that the Tura of Ossian, which he undoubtedly places in Ulster, was the same with Temora, but in Ossian the most marked distinction is made between Tura and Teamharr, or Temora; the former appears in Ossian to have been a seat of the Cruithne in Ulster, and was probably the same place with the Rathmore Moylena of the Irish annalists, while he places the latter considerably to the south, without marking out its exact situation, and implies that it was the seat of the Irish kings. From these few remarks it will appear, the value of Ossian as an historical poet must stand in the highest rank, while, whether the chief part of these poems are of ancient or modern composition, there can remain little doubt that in him we possess the oldest record of the history of a very remote age.

¹ This is a most dishonest objection, for every Irish antiquary knows that there was a plain of Moylena in Ulster. I regret much to see it repeated by Mr. Moore, in his excellent History of

Ireland; a work that would have been more valuable if he had not adopted the absurd and untenable system of Sir William Betham.

Where a national disposition towards poetry and recitation is exhibited by a primitive people, the sister art of Music. music is seldom found to be wanting, and accordingly the Highlanders have at all times possessed a peculiarly strong inclination for melody. The style of the Highland airs is singular, being chiefly remarkable for its great simplicity, wildness, and pathos or expression. The scale used is different from the ordinary or diatonic scale, and is defective, wanting the fourth and the seventh; but this very defect gives rise to the pleasing simplicity and plaintiveness of the Highland melody, and imparts to their music a character peculiarly adapted to the nature of their poetry.

The most ancient instrument in use among them appears to have been the harp; and although it has been for many generations unknown, there is little doubt that it was at one time in very general use throughout the Highlands. The author of "certain curious matters touching Scotland in 1797" says, "they delight much in musicke, but chiefly in *harps* and clarischoes of their own fashion. The strings of the clarischoes are of brass wire, and the strings of the harps of sinews, which strings they strike either with their nayles growing long, or else with an instrument appointed for that use. They take great pleasure to decke their harps and clarischoes with silver and precious stones; and poor ones that cannot attayne hereunto, decke them with chrystall."

Innumerable other passages might be quoted to prove the very general use of the harp in the Highlands, while the records attest the existence of a numerous race of harpers attached to the different chiefs. Thus, in the lord high treasurer's accompts we find the following entries:—

"May 10th, 1503. Item to Makberty, the clairsha, to pass to the Isles, iij^b. x^s."

"Sept. 3d, 1506. Item to Maklain's clairsha, ix^s."

"— 4, —. To Earl of Argyle's clairsha, xiiij^s., and to Duncan Campbell's bard, v^s."

And in a roll of Macnaughtan's soldiers, shipped at Lochkerran, "11th December, 1627," which has been preserved among the Morton papers, appears "Harie M'Gra, harper fra Larg." An

interesting specimen of the Highland harp of this period has been preserved in the family of Lude. But besides the fact of the harp having been in general use at this period, there is complete evidence that it has been used in this country from the most remote period. The country lying to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, including the greater part of the Highlands, abounds in large pillars of stone, carved with ancient sculptures, both intaglio and in relief. These sculptured pillars are evidently of very great antiquity, many of them even antecedent to the introduction of Christianity, and they form a most valuable and interesting record of the ancient manners and customs of the country. Upon two of these erect stones are found representations of the harp, exactly resembling the Highland harp in their design and appearance. On the first of these stones, the date of which is fixed from various circumstances to be of the ninth century, there is an armed figure seated and playing on the harp. The other is of still greater antiquity, and on it there appears a harp of an exactly similar construction. The use of the harp appears to have rapidly declined in the Highlands during the seventeenth century, in consequence of the civil wars which commenced at that period, and at length it was entirely superseded by the more martial instrument, the bagpipe, the origin of which is altogether unknown, although, from the character of the music, there is greater probability in supposing it an ancient instrument of the Highlanders than of foreign introduction.

Besides the harp, the horn appears to have been in very ancient use among the Highlanders. It is found on two of these remarkable sculptured crosses, and in both cases it is apparently used in hunting.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HIGHLAND DRESS—THREE VARIETIES OF DRESS WORN PREVIOUS TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY; AND THEIR ANTIQUITY—ARMS AND ARMOUR—HUNTING—CHARACTER OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

Highland dress. THE dress of the Highlanders is one in many respects peculiar to that nation, and is so singularly well adapted to their mode of life and the nature of their country, that it is difficult to believe that it is not the original dress of its inhabitants. Of late years, however, the antiquity of this dress and of the use of tartan in the Highlands has been much doubted, and an opinion has very generally prevailed that it is but of modern invention, or, at all events, that the *truis* is the only ancient form of the dress; although what motive or circumstance could have led to the adoption, at a recent period, of so singular a dress, the doubters of its antiquity do not pretend to specify.

It would be too much, perhaps, to affirm that the dress, as at present worn, in all its minute details, is ancient, but it is very certain that it is compounded of three varieties in the form of the dress, which were separately worn by the Highlanders in the seventeenth century, and that each of these can be traced back to the most remote antiquity.

Three varieties of the dress in the 17th century. The first form of the dress was that worn by the Dune Uasal, or gentry of the Highlands, and consisted of the Breacan or plaid, and the Lenicroich or Highland shirt. They are thus described by Martin:—"The *plad*, wore only by the men, is made of fine wool—the thred as fine as can be made of that kind—it consists of divers colours, and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this

First variety.

reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plad upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thred of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double-ells.

“When they travel on foot the plad is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood. The plad is tied round the middle with a leather belt; it is pleated from the belt to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trowis.

“The first habit wore by persons of distinction in the Islands was the Lenicroich, from the Irish word *Leni*, which signifies a shirt, and *Croich*, saffron, because their shirt was died with that herb. The ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four; it was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle, but the Highlanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago.

“The shoes anciently wore were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot, so that what is for one foot will not serve for the other.

“But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the south of Scotland.”

By the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they are termed the mantle and the shirt, and are described by them as being the only dress worn by the gentry; thus the Reverend James Broome, in his “*Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales*,” published at London in 1700, tells us, “they go habited in mantles, striped or streaked with divers colours, about their shoulders, which they call *pladden*, with a coat girt close to their bodies, and commonly are naked upon their legs, but wear sandals upon the soles of their feet; and their women go clad much after the same fashion.”

In 1688, according to Sacheveril, “The usual outward habit of both sexes is the *pladd*; the women’s much finer, the colours more lively, and the square larger than the men’s; and put me in mind of the ancient Picts. This serves them for a veil, and covers both head and body. The men wear theirs after another manner, especially when designed for ornament: it is loose and

flowing, like the mantles our painters give their heroes. Their thighs are bear, with brawny muscles. Nature has drawn all her strokes bold and masterly. What is covered is only adapted to necessity; a thin brogue on the foot, a short buskin of various colours on the leg, tied above the calf with a striped pair of garters." According to Nicolay d'Arfeville, cosmographer to the King of France (who published at Paris, in the year 1583, a volume entitled "*La Navigation du Roy d'Escosse Jaques cinquiesme du nom, autour de son Royaume et Isles Hebrides et Orchades soubz la conduite d'Alexandre Lindsay excellent Pilote Escossois*"), "Ils portent comme les Islandois une grand et ample chemise saffranee, et par dessus un habit long jusques aux genoux de grosse laine à mode d'une soutane. Ils vont teste nue et laissent croistre leurs cheveux fort long, et ne portent chausses ni souliers sinon quelques uns qui ont des botines faictes à l'antique qui leur montent jusques aux genoux."¹ Lesly gives a more minute description of this dress in 1578. He says:—"Vestes ad necessitatem (erant enim ad bellum in primis accommodatæ) non ad ornatum faciebant: chlamydes enim gestabant unius formæ et nobiles et plebei (nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant) et illas quidem demissas ac fluxas, sed in sinus tamen quosdam, ubi volebant, decenter contractas. Has brachas a veteribus appellatas facilè equidem crediderim. His solis noctu involuti suaviter dormiebant: habebant etiam, cujusmodi Hibernenses et hodie sibi placent, villosas stragulas, alias ad iter, alias ad lectos accommodatas. Reliqua vero vestimenta erant brevis ex lana tunicella manicis inferius apertis, uti expeditius cum vellent jacula torquerent, ac fœmoralia simplicissima, pudori quam frigori aut pompæ aptioræ; ex lino quoque amplissima indusia conficiebant, multis sinibus, largioribusque manicis ad genua usque negligentius fluentia. Hæc potentiores croco, alii autem adipe quodam, quo ab omni sorde diutius manerent integra, illinebant: assuefacere

¹ "They wear, like the Irish, a large and full shirt, coloured with saffron, and over this a garment, hanging to the knee, of thick wool, after the manner of a cassock. They go with bare heads, and allow their hair to

grow very long, and they wear neither stockings nor shoes, except some who have buskins, made in a very old fashion, which come as high as their knees."

enim se perfectius castrorum sudoribus consultissimum utebant."¹ Lindsay of Pittscottie gives the same account in 1573. "The other pairts (of Scotland) northerne ar full of montaines, and very rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called Reedschankis or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt, saffroned after the Irish manner, going bair legged to the knee." Monsieur Jean de Beaugne, who accompanied the French auxiliaries to Scotland in 1548, describes the same dress: "Quelques sauvages les suyverent, ansi qu'ils sont nuz fors que de leurs chemises taintes et de certaines couvertures legeres faites de laine de plusieurs couleurs; portans de grands arcs et semblables epees et bouchiers que les autres."² In 1512, John Major adds his testimony to the general use of the same dress: "A medio crure ad pedem caligas non habent; chlamyde pro veste superiore et camiisa croco tincta amiciuntur.....grossos pugiones sub zona positos ferunt frequenter nudis tibiis sub cruribus; in hyeme chlamydem pro veste superiore portant."³ And finally, we have the authority of Blind Harry for the fifteenth century. He mentions that

¹ "Their clothing was made for use (being chiefly suited to war), and not for ornament. All, both nobles and common people, wore mantles of one sort (except that the nobles preferred those of different colours). These were long and flowing, but capable of being neatly gathered up at pleasure into folds. I am inclined to believe that they were the same as those to which the ancients gave the name brachæ. Wrapped up in these for their only covering, they would sleep comfortably. They had also shaggy rugs, such as the Irish use at the present day, some fitted for a journey, others to be placed on a bed. The rest of their garments consisted of a short woollen jacket, with the sleeves open below for the convenience of throwing their darts, and a covering for the thighs of the simplest kind, more for decency than for show or a defence against cold. They made also of linen very large shirts, with numerous folds

and very large sleeves, which flowed abroad loosely on their knees. These the rich coloured with saffron, and others smeared with some grease, to preserve them longer clean among the toils and exercises of a camp, which they held it of the highest consequence to practise continually."

² "Several Highlanders (or wild Scots) followed them (the Scottish army), and they were naked, except their seamed shirts and a certain light covering made of wool of various colours; carrying large bows and similar swords and bucklers to the others," i.e., to the Lowlanders.

³ "From the middle of the thigh to the foot they have no covering for the leg, clothing themselves with a mantle instead of an upper garment. They carry large daggers, placed under the belt; their legs are frequently naked under the thigh; in winter they carry a mantle for an upper garment."

Wallace, who had been living in the Braes of Gowrie, having entered Dundee, was met by the son of the English constable of Dundee, and adds :

“ Wallace he saw and towart him he went,
Likli he was richt byge and weyle beseyne,
In till a gyde of gudly ganand greyne,
He callyt on hym and said, Thou Scot abyde,
Quha dewill the grathis in so gay a gyde (attire),
Ane Ersche mantill it war the kynd to wer ;
A Scottis thewtill (large knife) wndyr the belt to ber,
Rouch rewlyngis upon thi harlot fete.”

There is thus a complete chain of authorities for the dress of the Highlanders, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, having consisted of the Highland shirt stained with saffron, the Breacan or belted plaid, the short Highland coat, and the Cuaran or buskins; and that their limbs, from the thigh to the ankle, were certainly uncovered.

Previous to the fourteenth century, we cannot expect to find descriptions of the dress, but the existence of the same dress among the Highlanders can be established by another mode of proof. On the various tomb-stones of the ancient Highland chiefs still extant in some of the ruined chapels of the western Highlands, are to be seen effigies of these personages, represented clad in armour, and almost invariably in the Highland dress. The dates of these monuments are various ; but the most complete evidence perhaps of the existence of this garb in the fourteenth century, is to be found in the sculptures of Macmillan's Cross. This ancient structure has been preserved in an uninjured state, and is still standing in the village of Kilmory in Knapdale : although there does not appear any date upon the stone, yet from the form of the letters in which there is this inscription, “Crux Alexandri Macmillan,” there can be no doubt that it is at least as old as that period. On one side is the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, and the dress of the figure appears quite distinctly to be after the Highland fashion. But from the Duplin Cross, the date of which can, from various circumstances, be fixed to have been towards the end of the ninth century, there are a number of figures represented in the Highland garb, armed with the target and long

spear. Another very remarkable figure is found on the sculptured stone at Nigg, apparently of a still older date, in which the resemblance to the Highland dress is very striking, presenting also considerable indication of the sporran or purse. But it would be needless to detail all the sculptured monuments which bear evidence of the existence of the Highland garb; suffice it to say, that they afford complete proof of its having been the ordinary dress of a considerable part of the northern population from the earliest period of their history.

There is thus distinct evidence for the remote antiquity of this dress; but a very remarkable attestation to its use in the eleventh century still remains to be adduced.

Magnus Barefoot, it is well known, conquered the Western Isles, and a great part of the Highlands, in the year 1093. Various of the oldest Sagas, in mentioning that expedition, add the following sentence—"It is said, when king Magnus returned from his expedition to the west, that he adopted the costume in use in the western lands, and likewise many of his followers; that they went about bare-legged, having short tunics and also upper garments; and so, many men called him Barelegged, or Barefoot." The tunic and the upper garments are clearly the shirt and mantle of the Scottish writers. This dress, which was worn, as we have seen, from the earliest period, appears to have been peculiar to the gentry of the Highlands;—thus in a MS. history of the Gordons, by W. R., preserved in the Advocates' Library (Jac. V. 7, 11), the following anecdote is given, as occurring about the year 1591 or 1592: "Angus, the son of Lauchlan Mackintosh, chiefe of the clan Chattan, with a great party, attempts to surprise the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, belonging to Huntly, in which there was but a small garrison; but finding this attempt could neither by force nor fraude have successe, he retires a little to consult how to compass his intent. In the meantime one creeps out under the shelter of some old ruins, and levels with his piece at one of the clan Chattan, *cloathed in a yellow warr coat (which amongst them is the badge of the chieftanes or heads of clans)*, and piercing his body with a bullet, strikes him to the ground, and retires with gladness into the castle. The man killed was Angus himself, whom his people carry away, and concealls his death for many yeirs,

pretending he was gone beyond seas." Martin likewise says, that it was worn by persons of distinction; and other writers contrast it with the dress of the common people.

The dress of the common people was the second variety in the form of the Highland dress.

Second variety
of the dress.

John Major points out the distinction most clearly. After describing the dress of the gentry as given above, he adds, "In panno lineo multipliciter intersuto et cocreato aut picato, cum cervinæ pellis coopertura vulgus sylvestrium Scotorum corpus tectum habens in prælium prosilit."¹ It appears, therefore, to have consisted of the shirt, painted instead of being stained with saffron, and sewed in the manner of the modern kilt, while above it they wore a deerskin jacket; they likewise wore the plaid, which the gentry belted about the body, over the shoulders, like the modern shoulder plaid. Taylor, the water poet, describes this dress very minutely in 1618—"And in former times were those people which were called Red-shanks. Their habite is shooes with but one sole a-piece; stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warme stuff of divers colours, which they call tartane. As for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreaths of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer or lighter stuffe than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchiefe knit with two knots about their necke, and thus are they attyred." There is, however, as old an attestation for the use of this dress as for the other; for while the Sagas describe the king of Norway and his courtiers wearing the dress of the Highland gentry in the eleventh century, they describe some of his meaner followers attired in that of the common people of the Highlands. "Sigurd had on," say they, "a red skarlet tunic, and had a blue vest above it;" here the tunic and vest answer exactly to the shirt and jacket of the common people. Sigurd is described by the Saga as having been much derided by the Norwegians for his extraordinary dress. He is accused

¹ "The common people of the Highland Scots rush into battle having their body clothed with a linen gar-

ment, manifoldly sewed, and painted or daubed with pitch, with a covering of deer-skin."

of displaying his nakedness, and termed "a sleeveless man, and without backskirts." The third variety in the form of the dress worn by the Highlanders was that of the Truis, but this dress can be traced no further back than the year 1538. Martin thus describes it in 1716. "Many of the people wear *trowis*; some have them very fine woven, like stocking of those made of cloth; some are coloured, and others striped; the latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the *trowis* is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger, and half a finger, so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit..... The one end (of the plaid) hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also; the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do any thing upon occasion." And in 1678 it is thus mentioned by Cleland, who wrote a satirical poem upon the expedition of the Highland host.

"But those who were their chief commanders,
As such who bore the *pirnie* standarts,
Who led the van and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear;
With brogues, trues, and *pirnie* plaides,
With good blue bonnets on their heads.

"A *slasht* out coat beneath her plaides,
A targe of timber, nails, and hides."

Defoe, in his *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, mentions it as worn in 1639—"Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short coats of the same." The earliest notice, however, is contained in the treasurer's accounts for 1538, and consists of the dress worn by James V. when hunting in the Highlands.

"Item, in the first for ij elnis ane quarter elne of *variant cullorit velvet* to be the kingis grace ane *schort Heland coit*, price of the elne vj^{lib}.: summa, xiiij^{lib}. x^s.

"Item, for iij elnis quarter elne of grene taffatyis, to lyne the said coit with, price of the elne x^s.: summa, xxxij^s. vj^d.

"Item, for iij elnis of *Heland tertane* to be *hoiss* to the kingis grace, price of the elne iii^s. iiiij^d.: summa, xii^s.

"Item, for xv elnis of Holland claith to be *syde Heland sarkis* to the kingis grace, price of the elne vii^s.: summa, vj^{lib}.

"Item, for sewing and making of the said sarks, ix^s.

"Item, for twa unce of silk to sew thame, x^s.

"Item, for iiiij elnis of ribanis to the handes of them, ij^s."

The *hoiss* here mentioned are plainly the *truis*, the stockings being termed short *hoiss*; and from these accounts it appears that this dress consisted of the Highland shirt, the truis made of tartan, the short Highland coat made of tartan velvet, with the sleeves "slasht out;" and finally, the plaid thrown over the shoulders. The truis cannot be traced in the Highlands previous to the sixteenth century, but there is undoubted evidence that it was, from the very earliest period, the dress of the gentry of Ireland. I am inclined therefore to think that it was introduced from Ireland, and that the proper and peculiar dress of the Highlanders consisted of the first two varieties above described. The use of tartan in the Highlands at an early period has been denied, but the passages above quoted show clearly, that what is now called tartan, was used from an early period in various parts of the dress. Among the gentry, the plaid was always of tartan, and the coat appears to have been from 1538 of tartan velvet, and slashed; the short hoiss were likewise of tartan, but the Highland shirt was of linen, and dyed with saffron. Among the common people the plaid was certainly not of tartan, but generally brown in colour,¹ while the shirt worn by them was of tartan. The present dress with the belted plaid is exactly the same as the old dress of the gentry, with the exception of the yellow shirt. The dress with the kilt and shoulder-plaid, is probably a corruption of the dress of the common people. Among the

¹ "*Chlamydes enim gestabant unius formæ omnes et nobiles et plebei (nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant).*"—John Major. Moniepenne

says, "But for the most part they (the plaids) are now browne, most nere to the colour of the hadder."

common people the shirt was of tartan, and sewed in plaits, and they wore a jacket, and the plaid over the shoulder; this shirt was probably termed *filleadh*, and if divided in the middle would form exactly the present dress with the shoulder plaid; the lower part of the shirt would be the *filleadh-beg* or kilt, the upper part the waistcoat, and the jacket and shoulder-plaid would remain. It has likewise been doubted whether the distinction of clan tartans was known at that period; but Martin seems to set that question at rest, for in his valuable account of the Western Isles he says, "Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids, as to the stripes, or breadth, or colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places, are able, at the first view of a man's plaid, to guess the place of his residence." Among the common people, the jacket was of deer-skin. But the *cuaran* or buskin, and afterwards the hose, were common to both.

The dress of the Highland women is thus described by Lesley in 1578—"Mulierum autem habitus apud illos decentissimus erat. Nam talari tunicæ arte Phrygiâ ut plurimum confectæ amplas chlamydes, quas jam diximus, atque illas quidem polymitas superinduerunt. Illarum brachia armillis, ac colla monilibus elegantius ornata maximam habent decoris speciem."¹ And by Martin in 1716—"The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called *Arisad*, is a white plad, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red. It reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of a hundred marks value; it was broad as an ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraven with various animals, &c. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces' weight; it had in the centre a large piece of chrystal, or some finer stone,

¹"Their women's attire was very becoming. Over a gown reaching to the ancles, and generally embroidered, they wore large mantles of the kind already described, and woven of dif-

ferent colours. Their chief ornaments were the bracelets and necklaces with which they decorated their arms and necks."

and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size.

"The plad being pleated all round, was tied with a belt below the breast; the belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate, about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven, the end of which was adorned with fine stones, or pieces of red coral. They wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine kerchief of linen strait about the head, hanging down the back taperwise. A large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands."

Besides the antiquity of the Highland dress, the use of armour among the Highlanders has been also
Arms. much doubted by modern antiquaries, but there are perhaps few points for which there is clearer attestation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the few notices of Highland customs at that period attest the use of the helmet, and the shirt of mail. Their weapons appear to have been the large sword, the battle-axe, the spear, the bow and arrow, and the dirk. In illustration of this, we shall throw together a few passages from the writers of that period.

In 1512.—"Arcum et sagittas, latissimum ensem, cum parvo halberto, pugionem grossum ex solo uno latere scindentem et acutissimum sub zona semper ferunt. Tempore belli lorica ex loris ferreis per totum corpus induunt et in illa pugnant."¹

In 1573.—"Thair weapones ar bowes and dartes, with ane verie broad sword, and ane dagger sharp onlie at the one syde."²

In 1578.—"In præliis vero hostilique concursu vel lancea vel sagitta adversarium petebant. Gladio quoque utebantur ancipiti, pedites oblongo, equites brevi, utrique lato, ac acie

¹ John Major.—"They always carry a bow and arrows, a very broad sword with a small halbert, a large dagger, sharpened on one side only, but very sharp, under the belt. In time of war

they cover their whole body with a shirt of mail of iron rings, and fight in that."

² Lindsay of Pittscottie.

longè accutissimo ut primo conatu hominem facile dissecaret medium. Lorica hamis ferreis conserta muniebantur. Hanc tunicæ coriaceæ non minus firmæ quam eleganti (nostri Acton dicunt) superinduerunt. Omnes denique armatura illis leves, ut facilius si eo angustiarum detruderentur, ex hostium manibus possent elabi."¹

In 1583.—"Leurs armes sont l'arc et la flesche et quelques javellotz qu'ils tirent fort dextrement, et une large espée, avec le poignard pointu, qui ne taille que d'un costé. Ils sont fort légers à la course, et n'y a cheval si viste qui les puisse devancer, comme j'en ay veu la preuve plusieurs fois, tant en Angleterre qu'en Escosse."²

Martin, in his *Western Isles*, says, "The ancient way of fighting was by set battles, and for armes some had broad two-handed swords, and head-pieces, and others bows and arrows."

The author of "Certain curious matters concerning Scotland" in 1597 says, "They fight with broad swords and axes."—Moneypennie, who wrote in 1612, remarks—"Their armour, wherewith they cover their bodyes in time of warre, is an yron bonnet, and an habbergion, side almost even to their heeles. Their weapons against their enemies are bowes and arrows. The arrows are for the most part hooked, with a barbel on either side, which, once entered within the body, cannot be drawn forth again, unless the wound be made wider. Some of them fight with broad swords and axes."

Beague, in describing the battle of Pinkie, says, "The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave

¹ Lesly.—"In battle and hostile encounter their weapons were a lance or arrows. They use also a two-edged sword, which with the foot soldier was pretty long, and short for the horse; both had it broad, and with an edge so exceedingly sharp that at one blow it could easily cut a man in two; for defence they use a coat of mail woven of iron rings, which they wore over a leather jerkin, stout and of handsome appearance, which we call an Acton. Their whole armour was

light, that they might the more easily slip from their enemies' hands, if they chanced to fall into such a straight."

² Nicolay d'Arfeville.—"Their arms are the bow and arrow, and some darts, which they throw with some dexterity, and a large sword, with a single-edged dagger. They are very swift of foot, and there is no horse so swift as to outstrip them, as I have seen proved several times both in England and Scotland."

proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broadswords, large bows, and targets."—And finally, an Act of Council dated 13 December, 1552, ordering a levy of two ensignies of Highland soldiers within the bounds of Huntly's lieutenancy, to go to France with other Scottish troops for the support of his most Christian Majesty in his wars, directs the Highlanders to be accoutred as follows, viz., "with jack and plait, steil bonnet, sword, boucklair, new hose, and new doublett of canvass at the least, and sleeves of plait or splents, and ane speir of sax elne lang or thereby."

These passages, to which many others might be added, are sufficient to show that the Highlanders were not the naked and defenceless soldiers at that time as is generally supposed, but that they were well acquainted with the use of defensive armour, and that the steel head-piece, the habergeon, or the shirt of mail, was in general use among them.

Hunting. When not engaged in regular warfare, or in some of the almost constant predatory excursions of the time, the chief occupation of the ancient Highlanders was that of hunting. In the words of Holinshed, "whensoever they had entered into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not live in such security that thereby they would suffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keep themselves in their former activitie and nimbleness of lives, either with continual huntunge (a game greatly esteemed among our ancestors) or with running from the hills unto the valleys, or from the valleys unto the hills, or with wrestling, and such kind of pastymes, whereby they were never idle." As the Highlanders considered that, next to war, hunting was the most manly exercise and occupation, their great hunting expeditions seem to have been held with splendid though rude magnificence, and they were not unfrequently made the cover of deeper designs. Taylor, the water poet, gives so very lively and picturesque a description of the Highland hunting scene he witnessed, that although it has already been made the subject of frequent quotation, it is so very much to the present purpose that I cannot refrain from inserting a portion here. "The manner of the hunting is this—five or six hundred

men do rise early in the morning, and they do disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight, or ten miles' compass, they do bring or chase in the deer in many herds (two, three, or four hundred in a herd) to such or such a place as the nobleman shall appoint them; then when day is come, the lords and gentlemen of their companies do ride or go to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middle through burns and rivers, and then they being come to the place, do lie down on the ground, till those foresaid scouts, which are called the Tinchell, do bring down the deer; but as the proverb says of a bad cook, so these unkell men do lick their own fingers; for besides their bows and arrows which they carry with them, we can hear now and then a harquebuss or a musket go off, which they do seldom discharge in vain. Then after we had laid there three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hills round about us (their heads making a show like a wood), which, being followed close by the *tinchell*, are chased down into the valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being waylaid with an hundred couple of greyhounds, they are all let loose as occasion serves upon the herd of deer, that with dogs, guns, arrows, dirks, and daggers, in the space of two hours four score fat deer were slain, which after are disposed of some one way and some another, twenty and thirty miles, and more than enough left for us to make merry withall at our rendezvous."

Character.

I may conclude this rapid survey of the manners and customs of the Highlanders by contrasting a character of the Highlanders in the fourteenth century with one of the present day, both of them written by persons far from favourable to the Highlands or its inhabitants. "*Insulana sive montana ferina gens est et indomita, rudis et emmorigerata, raptu capax, otium diligens, ingenio docilis et callida, forma spectabilis, sed amictu deformis; populo quidem Anglorum et linguæ, sed et proprie nationi, propter linguarum diversitatem infesta et crudelis; regi tamen et regno fidelis et obediens, nec non facilliter legibus subdita si regatur.*"¹ "The modern Gael," says a modern writer who cannot certainly be

¹ Fordun.

accused of partiality to the Highlanders, "is naturally an indolent and unindustrious being; yet when there is occasion for activity and exertion, he is not often to be paralleled. He is modest and unassuming. His courtesy and good breeding are unstudied and becoming, and no feeling of inferiority betrays him into abstraction or awkwardness of manner; shrewd, inquisitive, and intelligent, he has his faculties collected and at his command. He is sensible of kindness and deeply susceptible of gratitude, but withall he is superstitious, haughty, passionate, and vindictive."¹

¹ Armstrong.

APPENDIX TO PART I.

THE SEVEN PROVINCES OF SCOTLAND.

IN treating of the earlier part of the history of Scotland, it had been my intention to have refrained from entering more deeply into the subject than was absolutely necessary for the development of the single proposition which I had to establish—viz., the descent of the Highlanders from the northern Picts; but the remarkable discoveries of Sir Francis Palgrave, regarding the court and privileges of the seven earls of Scotland in the thirteenth century, corroborate so very strongly the views which I had been led to form of the constitution of the Pictish kingdom, and of its preservation in the subsequent Scottish monarchy, that I am induced to depart from my resolution, and to give a more detailed view of the subject in this Appendix.

Previous writers of Scottish history have in general overlooked the ancient territorial divisions of the country. That the name of Scotia was, previous to the thirteenth century, confined to the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, is undoubted; the chronicles and ancient writers invariably asserting that these Firths divided Scotia from Anglia. That part of the present kingdom situated to the south of these Firths, appears to have formerly consisted of the two provinces of Lothian and Cumbria, or Galloway; and these provinces have been frequently noticed by our later historians. These writers have, however, entirely overlooked the fact, that Scotia, or Scotland proper, was likewise divided into provinces. We have seen that frequent allusion is made by the chroniclers and monkish writers to the "*provinciæ Pictorum*";¹ and from the

¹ See Part I., chap. ii.

Scottish conquest down to the thirteenth century, they frequently notice the existence of *provinces* in the north of Scotland. The oldest description of these territorial divisions which we possess, is contained in the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, styled "*De Situ Albanie*," and written in the year 1180. He mentions that the "*Aqua optima, quæ Scotticæ vocata est Forth*," divides the "*regna Scottorum et Anglorum*," and says, "*Hæc vero terra a septem fratribus divisa fuit antiquitus in septem partes: quarum pars principalis est Enegus cum Moerne, ab Enegus primogenito fratrum sic nominata: secunda autem pars est Adtheodle et Gouerin*¹: pars etiam tertia est Stradeern cum Meneted: quarta pars partium est Fife cum Fothreve: quinta vero pars est Marr cum Buchen: sexta autem est Murref et Ros: septima enim pars est Cathanesia citra montem et ultra montem: quia Mons Mound dividit Cathanesiam per medium."² He afterwards gives a different account of the seven provinces, on the authority of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness:—

"Primum regnum fuit (sicut mihi verus relator retulit, Andreas, videlicet, vir venerabilis Katanensis episcopus natione Scottus et Dunfermlis Monachus) ab illa aqua optima, quæ Scotticæ vocata est *Forth*, Britannicæ *Werid*, Romane vero *Scotte-Wattre*, i.e., aqua Scottorum; quæ regna Scottorum et Anglorum dividit, et currit juxta oppidum de *Strivelin*, usque ad flumen aliud nobile, quod vocatum est *Tae*.

"Secundum regnum ad *Hilef*, sicut mare circuit, usque ad montem aquilonali plaga de *Strivelin* qui vocatur *Athrin*.

"Tertium regnum ab *Hilef* usque ad *De*.

"Quartum regnum ex *De* usque ad magnum et mirabile flumen quod vocatur *Spe*, majorem et meliorem totius Scociæ.

"Quintum regnum de *Spe* usque ad montem *Bruinalban*.

"Sextum regnum fuit *Muref* et *Ros*.

"Septimum regnum fuit *Arregathel*."

On comparing these two lists, it will be observed that six

¹The word read by Innes *Gouerin*, ought undoubtedly to be *Garörin* or *Garmorin*, for the division of the Picts into the two nations of *Australes* et *Septentrionales*, and the language of Bede, precludes the possibility of

Atholl and *Gowry* being in the same territorial division. Innes probably never heard of the Earldom of *Garmorin*.

²Innes, App. No. 1.

of the seven provinces are the same in both ; the first province in the second list being equivalent to Fife and Fothreve ; the second, to Stratherne and Menteth ; the third, to Angus and Merns ; the fourth, to Marr and Buchan ; the fifth, to Atholl ; and the sixth, Moray and Ross ; while in the first list, the seventh is Cathanesia, and in the second it is Argyll.

This variation, it is plain, could not arise from any error in the ancient documents from which these two accounts are taken ; and the two lists can only represent the division of Scotland into seven provinces, *at different periods*, since otherwise we could not account for the omission of either Argyll or Caithness. This variation, however, points out distinctly the different periods in the history of Scotland to which the two lists apply. The first list omits Argyll ; the second includes Argyll and omits Caithness ; and the ninth century produced exactly the changes in the history of Scotland which would account for this variation ; for the Scottish conquest, in 843, added Dalriada, which afterwards became Argyll, to the rest of Scotland, and towards the end of the same century, Caithness fell into the hands of the Norwegians. The second list thus exhibits the exact territories possessed by the king of Scotland subsequent to the ninth century, while the first list gives an equally faithful picture of the extent of the *Pictish* kingdom previous to the Scottish conquest. This is very plain, when we find that the seven provinces in the first list form exactly the possessions of the Picts, and that the part omitted is just the territory of the Dalriads ; and this is most important, for it proves that the division into seven provinces was peculiar to the Picts, and that the Pictish kingdom formed the basis of the subsequent Scottish monarchy. Having thus established the fact that the seven provinces contained in the first list were the territorial divisions of the *Pictish* kingdom previous to the *Scottish* conquest, we now proceed to enquire into the nature and purpose of this division.

Giraldus mentions a tradition that the seven provinces arose from a division of the territory of the Picts among seven brothers. These seven brothers, however, are manifestly the same with the seven sons of Cruthne, the progenitor of the Picts mentioned in the following passage of the Pictish chronicle:

"Cruide filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit; VII. filios habuit. Hæc sunt nomina eorum; Fiv, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Ce, Circui."¹ The same seven brothers are mentioned in an old Gaelic poem attributed to St. Columba, and quoted in that ancient and singular history of the Picts contained in the book of Ballymote.

"The seven great sons of Cruthne
Divided Alban into seven parts,
Cait, Ce, Cirighceathac,
Fibh, Fidach, Fotla, Fortreand."²

The names of these seven brothers, however, appear from the Irish annalists to have been actually the Gaelic names of the districts in question.

The name of Fortren occurs frequently in these Annals, where many of the Pictish kings are termed "Ri Fortren," or king of Fortren; and that this word, although used for Pictavia in general, was applied in a strict sense to Stratherne, appears from two facts: 1st, Angus Ri Fortren (or king of Fortren, in Tighernac), appears, in the old history of the foundation of St. Andrews, as residing in Forteviot in Stratherne as his capital; and it is plain that, in a state of society like that of the Picts, the residence of the monarch would always be in the territories of the tribe of which he was the chief. 2dly, The Annals of Ulster mention in 903 the slaughter of Ivar the Norwegian pirate, "by the men of Fortren," while the Pictish Chronicle, in relating the same event, says, "In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Straithheremi (Stratherne) Normanni."

Fiv is manifestly Fife. In *Cathanesia*, and *Athfotla* or Atholl, we plainly recognise Got or Cait, and Fotla; while Tighernac mentions a battle fought "in terra Circi," and from the parties engaged in it, it would appear to have been in the territories of the southern Picts, and consequently the province of Angus. There only remain the names Ce and

¹ Pinkerton, App. No. 10.

² Pinkerton, App. No. 14. This very curious and valuable document

must not be judged of by Pinkerton's translation, which bears but a very remote resemblance to the original.

Fidach to be identified; but although these must have been the Gaelic names of the two remaining provinces stretching from the Dee to the Firth of Tain, we are unable further to identify them. All authorities thus agree in the division of the Pictish nation into seven provinces; and as the Picts were at the same time divided into the two great nations of the Northern and Southern Picts, who were separated from each other by the Great Grampian range, it would appear that four of these provinces belonged to the former of these nations, and three to the latter.

The Picts, however, it must be remembered, consisted of a confederacy of tribes, in number certainly greater than seven. These tribes, then, must have been grouped together, as it were into provinces, and it will be necessary to ascertain their number and situation before we can understand the purpose of the latter division. After giving the first list of seven provinces, Giraldus proceeds to say—"Inde est ut hi septem fratres prædicti pro septem *regibus* habebantur: *septem regulos sub se habentes*. Isti septem fratres regnum Albaniam in septem regna dividerunt, et unusquisque in tempore suo in suo regno regnavit." There were thus, according to tradition, among the Picts, seven "reges," and inferior to them seven "reguli," that is to say, as the Picts were a confederacy of tribes, the heads of the nation consisted of fourteen chiefs, of whom seven were superior in rank to the rest. As we had previously found the existence of the seven provinces traditionally preserved in the shape of the seven sons of the supposed founder of the Pictish kingdom, so we should likewise expect to recognize the fourteen tribes of the nation traditionally preserved in the same documents and in a similar form. Such is actually the case. The Pictish Chronicle has the following passage:—

"15 Brude bout, a quo xxx Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam, per centum l. annorum spacium xlviii. annis regnavit. Id est, Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, Brude Urleo, Brude Gant, Brude Urgant, Brude Guith, Brude Urguith, Brude Fecir, Brude Urfecir, Brude Cal, Brude Urcal, Brude Ciut, Brude Urciut, Brude Fec, Brude Urfec, Brude Ru, Brude Eru, Brude Gart, Brude Urgart, Brude Cinid, Brude Urcinid, Brude Iup, Brude Uriup, Brude Grid, Brude Urgrid, Brude Mund Brude Urmund."

In the Book of Ballymote, perhaps the better authority, we find exactly the same list, with the exception that instead of Fecir we have Feth, instead of Ru we have Ero, instead of Iup we have Uip, instead of Grid we have Grith, and instead of Mund we have Muin.

Although Brude is here stated to have thirty sons, yet, on giving their names, it appears to be a mistake for twenty-eight which is the true number, as the Book of Ballymote has the same. This number, however, is again reduced to *fourteen*, as we find that every alternate name is merely the preceding one repeated, with the syllable "Ur" prefixed.

This, then, is a strictly analogous case to the former. It appears from Giraldus, that there were among the Picts *fourteen* persons styled "reges et reguli," who, from the state of society among them, must have been chiefs of tribes, and consequently the nation was divided into fourteen tribes, while we find a tradition, that a successor of the founder of the nation and king of the Picts had *fourteen* sons.

The tribes of the Caledonians or Picts, as they existed A.D. 121, are, however, preserved by Ptolemy. The exact number of these tribes cannot be ascertained from him, as he nowhere marks the distinction between the tribes of the Caledonians and those of the other Britons. They appear, however, to have been fourteen in number, for, north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which in the second century was certainly inhabited by the Caledonians or Picts alone, he places twelve tribes; the Damnonioi likewise belonged to them, for that tribe is placed by Ptolemy partly north and partly south of these Firths, and the expression of Julius Capitolinus, in narrating the building of the wall of Antonine in A.D. 138, "submotis barbaris," implies that previous to that event a considerable number of the Caledonians dwelt south of the Firths; among these "submotis barbaris" we may probably likewise include the Novantai, as Tacitus draws a decided distinction between them and the neighbouring tribes, when he styles them, along with the Damnonioi "novas gentes."

This just makes up the number of fourteen; and it is a very remarkable circumstance, that in the names of these fourteen tribes, as given by Ptolemy, we actually find, with but one

exception, the names of the fourteen sons of Brude given by the Pictish Chronicle. This will appear from the following table, and as the names in the one list are Gaelic, and in the other Greek, it will be necessary to add to the former the forms they would assume by pronunciation, and the use of the aspirate in the oblique cases, which has the effect in Gaelic, as is well known, of sometimes changing the form of the letter, and sometimes rendering it silent.¹

Pant or	Phant	<i>Novantai.</i> ²
Leo	Leo	<i>Lougai.</i>
Gant pronounced	Kant	<i>Kantai.</i>
Guith pronounced	Kai	<i>Kairinoi.</i>
Feth or	Ped	<i>Epidioi.</i>
Cal or	Kal	<i>Kaledonioi.</i>
Cuit or	Tuic	<i>Taiksaloι.</i>
Fec	Fec	<i>Vakomagoi.</i>
Eru	Eru	<i>Mertai.</i>
Gart ³ pronounced	Kar	<i>Karnones.</i>
Cinid	Cinid	<i>Damnonioi.</i>
Uip or	Uiph	<i>Kournaovioi.</i> ⁴
Grith pronounced	Kre	<i>Kreones.</i>
Muin or	Vuin	<i>Venricontes.</i>

In comparing these names, it must be recollected that the Gaelic names are monosyllabic, while the Greek are not. But when, in fourteen Greek names, the *first* syllables of *ten* are found to be identic with the Gaelic, as well as the *second* syllables of *two*, and that there are *but two* which bear a doubtful or no similarity, the identity may be considered complete.⁵

We thus see that the Pictish nation was a confederacy of

¹ In old Gaelic *d* and *t* are used for each other indiscriminately. By the aspirate used in the oblique cases, *b* and *m* become *v*, *p* becomes *f*, and *t* is silent. In ancient MSS. it is likewise difficult to distinguish *t* from *c*.

² *Na*, the Gaelic definite article, *Navantai*—the *Vantai*.

³ Tighernac mentions the Gens *Gart-naidh*, pronounced *Karnie*.

⁴ *Corr* is the Gaelic for a corner, and hence a district "*Corrn'aovioi*" is the "*district of the Aovioi*," and *Corr* is singularly applicable to their situation in Caithness.

⁵ The identification of the fourteen tribes with the fourteen sons of Brude may perhaps be considered visionary, but its accuracy does not in any way affect the argument regarding the constitution of the Pictish monarchy.

fourteen tribes, the chiefs of seven of which were considered of superior rank to the others, and that these fourteen tribes were grouped into seven provinces, in each of which one of the seven superior chiefs ruled. This exhibits a system exactly analogous to that which existed, as appears from Cæsar and others, in Gaul, where several of the tribes were dependent upon others more powerful than themselves. It has been fully shewn in this Work, that the northern tribes remained in very much the same state, down to the introduction of the Saxon laws, in the reign of Edgar; that the maormors or chiefs of these tribes assumed the title of earl, and that the territories of the tribes are exactly the same with the earldoms into which the north of Scotland was afterwards divided. We are thus enabled, by comparing the tribes as given by Ptolemy with the subsequent earldoms and the seven provinces contained in Giraldus, to ascertain the exact local system of the Pictish kingdom. This will appear from the following table:—

Nations.	Provinces.	Tribes.	Earldoms.
Southern Picts .	Fiv . . .	Cinid . . .	Fife.
	Fortren . .	Phant . . .	Stratherne.
	Circi . . .	Vuin . . .	Angus.
Northern Picts .	Fidach . .	Fec . . .	Marr.
		Tuic . . .	Buchan.
	Ce . . .	Kant . . .	Moray.
		Kar . . .	Ross.
	Fotla . . .	Kal . . .	Atholl.
		Kre . . .	Garmorin.
	Cait . . .	Leo . . .	Fell into the possession of the Norwegians — A.D. 925.
		Ero . . .	
		Kai . . .	
		Uiph . . .	Destroyed by Dalriads.
		Ped . . .	

From this table it will be observed, that the Southern Picts consisted of but three of the fourteen tribes, while their territories comprised three of the seven provinces. It would appear, then, that the system of dependent tribes was confined to the Northern Picts, and this circumstance will, in some degree, explain the origin of the seven provinces.

It has been fully shewn in the previous part of the Work, that the Pictish monarchy was an elective one, and that the king of the Picts was chosen from among the chiefs of the tribes.¹ Adomnan mentions the existence of a *senatus* among the Picts. This *senatus*, then, must have been the constitutional body by whom the Pictish monarch was elected, or his right to the Pictish throne judged of; and it is equally clear that it must originally have been formed out of the chiefs of these tribes; but while the Southern Picts consisted of three great tribes only, the nature of the country, and other causes incidental to mountain districts, had caused the division of the Northern Picts into a much greater number. Although these tribes were probably originally independent of each other, yet in a representation of the nation by the heads of its tribes, it was absolutely necessary that the one division of the nation should not have too great a preponderance over the other, in numbers and extent of territory equally powerful; and in this way, I think, arose the arrangement of the tribes of the Northern Picts into four provinces, in each of which one tribe alone, and probably the most powerful, was selected to form a part of the national council, and to which tribes the others would soon become dependent. The division of the nation into seven provinces was then a political institution, whose origin is unknown, for the purpose of preserving the balance between the two great branches of the Picts, whose habits of life, and the nature of their country, rendered their interests very different; and the seven great chiefs, by whom the seven provinces were represented, alone had a voice in the *senatus* of the nation, and constituted the electors of the Pictish monarch, and the judges of his right to the throne, when the principle of succession was introduced.²

Such, then, was the constitution of the Pictish monarchy

¹ Part I., chap. ii.

² The seven provinces of the Picts, and the seven great chiefs who presided over them, are plainly alluded to in the following passages in the old accounts of the foundation of St. Andrews:—

“Die autem postero Picti, ex

sponsione Apostoli letificati, prælium pararunt; et diviso exercitu, circa regem suum *septem agmina* statuerunt.”—Pinkerton, App. No. 7.

“Altero autem die, evenit regi prædicto, cum *septem comitibus* amicissimis, ambulare.”—Pinkerton, App. No.

12.

previous to the Scottish conquest: let us now see what effect that event produced upon the system. Subsequent to this event, we have strong reason for thinking that some representation of the Pictish nation as separate and distinct from the Scots still continued, for in the reign of Donald, the successor of Kenneth Mac Alpin, we find a solemn contract entered into between the Goedili on the one hand, and the king of the Scots on the other, by which the laws and customs of the Dalriadic Scots were introduced, including of course the rule of hereditary succession to the throne.

The second list of the seven provinces contained in Giraldus, applies unquestionably to some period subsequent to the Scottish conquest. The principal variation between this list and the previous one, is the addition of Argyll as a province, and the omission of Caithness. The former would be produced by the union of the Dalriadic territories to those of the Picts; the latter by the acquisition of Caithness by the Norwegians. The six years' forcible occupation of the district by Thorstein in the end of the ninth century would not be sufficient to exclude it from among the provinces, for that pirate king likewise possessed Moray and Ross, which certainly continued as a Scottish province; and it is apparent from this fact that no conquest would be sufficient to account for the omission of one of the provinces. It must be recollected, however, that Caithness was in the possession of the Norwegian Earl of Orkney in the tenth century, when no conquest whatever of that district is recorded, and the fact that one of the previous earls of Orkney is stated by the Sagas to have married the daughter of Duncan, Jarl of Maarmor of Caithness, affords a strong presumption that he acquired that district by succession. The entire separation of Caithness from Scotland, and its annexation to the Norwegian possessions as an integral part, will appear from a curious document printed by Sir Francis Palgrave in his valuable work on the Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. This document, in giving a description of Danelaghe, mentions that it included "*Albania tota quæ modo Scotia vocatur, et Morovia, usque ad Norwegiam et usque Daciam, scilicet, Kathenesia, Orkaneya, Enthegal (Inchegall or the Hebrides) et Man,*"¹ &c.

¹ Vol. I., p. 572.

The succession of the earl of Orkney to Caithness, therefore, caused the dismemberment of that district from Scotland, and that event took place, as appears from the Sagas, about the year 925, from which period Caithness must have ceased to form one of the seven provinces of Scotland. The only other variation which we discover, is, that a part of the province of Fife appears afterwards, under the name of Fortreve, which was previously the name of the province consisting of Stratherne and Menteth. From this it is plain that the Scots actually colonized the latter province, and that the remnant of the Pictish tribe which had possessed it, took refuge in the neighbouring province of Fife, to a part of which they gave their name, and where they remained, as well as the relics of the tribe of Fife, entire under a dominant Scottish population. The province of Angus seems to have continued under its Pictish chief as a tributary province, the Pictish Chronicle frequently recording the death of the *Maormor* of Angus, a title peculiar to the Picts, along with that of the kings of Scotland.

The new arrangement, then, of the seven provinces, by which Argyll became a province in place of Caithness, could not have taken place prior to the year 925, while previous to that date, and subsequent to the Scottish conquest, we find that the representation of the Picts as a nation by their *Senatus* still continued. The preservation of the system of the seven provinces, taken in connexion with these facts, thus proves that the Scots were incorporated into the Pictish system, and that the provinces of the Northern Picts were preserved entire, while the Scots came in place of the Southern Picts, of whom alone probably the *Maormor* of Angus retained a voice in the national council.

Such, then, was the constitution of the Scottish monarchy established on the overthrow of the Southern Picts, and adopting the constitutional form of the conquered kingdom; preserving, until the introduction of the Saxon laws in the twelfth century, the national council of seven great chiefs, by whom the right of the king to the throne was judged, under the hereditary kings of Scottish lineage, who filled the throne of the united nation, and thus gave the name of Scot and Scotia, formerly confined to the tribe from which they took their origin, to the whole country which submitted to their rule.

We shall now examine what effect the formation of the Scoto-Saxon monarchy under Edgar, produced upon this constitutional body. We have seen that, down to the introduction of the Saxon laws into the country, the tribes of Scotland existed under the rule of their hereditary Maormors or chiefs and that, wherever the old population remained, these Maormors adopted the Saxon title of Earl. As this was the highest title of honour among the Saxons, it is plain that there would now be no distinction in title between the chiefs of the superior and those of the subordinate tribes; and the whole of these earls indiscriminately, along with the other earls created by the Scoto-Saxon kings, and the crown vassals or thanes, would now form the "*communitas regni*," which constituted the parliament of all Teutonic nations. Notwithstanding this, however, as the seven great chiefs by whom the seven provinces of Scotland were represented, still existed, although they merely enjoyed the title of Earl in common with the other chiefs, it is not unlikely that we should find them retaining the shadow of this ancient national council co-existent with, and independent of, the great parliament of the nation, and claiming the privileges of the constitutional body of which their ancestors formed the members; that, besides the parliament or *communitas regni*, which included the whole of the earls, with the other crown vassals, we should find *seven* of the Earls claiming and exercising the privileges of the body which they represented; and that they would yield with reluctance their position as a representation of the *seven provinces of Scotland*.

Of the exercise of this right, however, an instance appears to have occurred even as late as the reign of Malcolm IV. On the death of David I., whose right to the throne had not been disputed by any of the factions into which Scotland was divided, the claims of his grandson Malcolm were disputed by William, commonly called the Boy of Egremont, the great-grandson of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, by his eldest son Duncan, likewise king of Scotland, and he was supported by the Gaelic part of the population.

The Orkneyinga Saga states that "Ingibiorg Iarlsmoder (earl's mother) married Malcolm, king of Scotland, who was called Langhals (Canmore); their son was Duncan, king of

Scotland, the father of William ; he was a good man ; his son was William Odlinger (the noble), *whom all the Scots wished to have for their king.*"¹

The nation, therefore, in some way expressed a desire to have the Boy of Egremont for their king ; and that this expression of the desire of the nation was made by the *seven earls*, appears from the following passages. In 1160, the Chronicle of Melrose mentions the following event :—"Malcolmus Rex Scotorum venit de exercitu Tolosæ, cumque venisset in civitatem quæ dicitur Pert, *Fereteatht comes et v. alii comites*, irati contra regem quia perrexit Tolosam, obsederunt civitatem et regem capere voluerunt ; sed præsumptio illorum minime prævaluit." This attack by the earls was made in favour of the Boy of Egremont, for Winton mentions him as being among the conspirators as well as Gilleandres, Earl of Ross ; and the fact that, while Winton assures us that the Boy of Egremont and the Earl of Ross were present, the Chronicle of Melrose does not include either among the six earls, shews very clearly that these six earls were acting in some public capacity peculiar to them.

The following passage in Bower shews equally clearly, however, that the demonstration made by the six earls was the event alluded to by the Saga, when it says, "whom all the Scots wished to have for their king" :—

"Videntes denique Scotorum procures nimiam sui regis familiaritatem cum Anglorum rege Henrico et amicitiam, turbati sunt valde, et omnis Scotia cum illis. Timuerunt enim ne sua familiaritas opprobrium illis pararet et contemptum : quod omni studio præcavere conantes, *miserunt legationem post eum, dicentes ; nolumus hunc regnare super nos.* Propterea reversus ab exercitu de Tholosa, Scotiam adveniens, propter diversas causarum exigentias, auctoritate regia prælatos jubet et procures apud burgum regium de Perth convenire. Concitatis interim regni *majoribus, sex comites, Ferchard, scilicet, Comes de Strathern et alii quinque*, adversus regem, non utique pro singulari commodo seu proditiosa conspiratione, immo reipublicæ tuitione commoti, ipsum capere nisi sunt, quem infra turrim ejusdem urbis obsederunt. Cassato pro tunc eorum, Deo disponente, conatu, non multis

¹ Orkneyinga Saga, p. 90.

postmodum diebus evolutis, clero consulente, cum suis optimatibus ad concordiam revocatus est."¹

It appears, then, that a portion of the earls were considered as representing the greater part of the nation; and we thus trace, as late as the twelfth century, the existence of a constitutional body, whose origin is lost in the earliest dawn of Pictish history, while the incorporation and preservation of the Northern Picts, as a distinct portion of the nation, afterwards termed the Scots, becomes undoubted.

¹ Fordun, b. viii., c. 4. This view of the conspiracy in 1160 suggested itself to me on seeing a notice of Sir F. Palgrave's singular discovery, as until then I did not perceive that the institution of the seven provinces had survived the establishment of the Scoto-Saxon monarchy.





PART II.

THE HIGHLAND CLANS.



THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITIONAL ORIGINS OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS--HISTORY OF HIGHLAND TRADITION--SUCCESSION OF FALSE TRADITIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS--TRACES OF THE OLDEST AND TRUE TRADITION TO BE FOUND--EFFECT TO BE GIVEN TO THE OLD MANUSCRIPT GENEALOGIES OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

IN the second part of this Work, it is proposed to examine the history, individually, of the different clans of the Gael of the Highlands of Scotland, to trace the origin of each, their distinctive designations, descent, branches into which they have subsequently spread out, and the affiliation of the different clans with respect to each other, with such particulars of their earlier history as may seem to be supported by good evidence.

It has been considered unnecessary to load these accounts with the more recent details of family history, as possessing in themselves little variety or interest to the general reader, and in no respect affecting the main object of this Work--namely, that of dispelling the obscurity and inconsistencies in which the early history of the Gael has been involved. When the outline has been distinctly traced, and the subject reduced to what it is to be hoped may appear a well-founded system of history, that outline would admit of being easily filled up, and the notice of each individual family brought down in full to the present time, were such details compatible with the necessary limits of a Work of the present description.

In order to explain the nature of the arrangement in which the clans have been placed, it will be necessary to recall to the recollection of the reader, that one great feature of the system of history established in this Work is, that previous to the thirteenth century the Highlanders of Scotland were divided into a few great tribes, which exactly corresponded with the ancient earldoms, and that from one or other of these tribes all the Highlanders are descended. Accordingly, the different clans will be found under the name of the ancient earldom, or tribe, of which they originally formed a part, and, throughout, the relation of the different clans to each other will be accurately maintained.

Before entering, however, upon the history of the Highland clans, it may not be amiss to notice an objection which may be made to this view of their origin.

In the early part of this Work it has been demonstrated, so far as a fact of that nature is capable of demonstration, that the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as is generally supposed, *but were the descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation*, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlands in 843, and who in a great measure maintained their independence of the kings of that race. It has also been shewn that these Northern Picts were a part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation, with the present Highlanders. Now to this idea, it may be said, that the traditionary origins at present existing among the clans are radically opposed, and that it is difficult to believe that, if such was their real origin, a tradition of an opposite nature could exist among them. At first sight this objection will appear a serious one; but that arises, in a great measure, from not duly investigating the nature and history of the Highland traditions.

In examining the history of the Highland clans, the enquirer will first be struck by the diversity of the traditionary origins assigned to them. He will find them to have been held by some to be originally Irish, by others

The Pictish origin of the Highland clans contradicted by tradition.

History of Highland traditions.

Scandinavian, Norman, or Saxon, and he will find different origins assigned to many of the clans, all of which are supported by arguments and authorities equally strong. Among so many conflicting traditions and systems, he will probably feel himself in considerable uncertainty, and the presumption which naturally arises in his mind is, that all these systems and traditions are equally false, and that the true origin of the Highlanders has yet to be discovered. This presumption will be strengthened when he remarks, that in none of these traditions is a native origin ever assigned to any of the clans, but that, on the contrary, they are all brought from some one foreign people or another; a system which reason shows to be as impossible as it is unsupported by history and inconsistent with the internal condition of the country. But a closer inspection will discover to him a still more remarkable circumstance—viz., that there has been in the Highlands, from the earliest period, a succession of traditions regarding the origin of the different clans, which are equally opposed to each other, and which have equally obtained credit in the Highlands, at the time when they severally prevailed. It will be proper, therefore, to notice shortly these successive systems of traditionary origin which have sprung up at different times in the Highlands, and the causes which led to their being adopted by the clans.

The immediate effect of the Scottish conquest, in 843, was the overthrow of the civilization and learning of the country. The Southern Picts, a people comparatively civilized, and who possessed in some degree the monkish learning of the age, were overrun by the still barbarous Scottish hordes, assisted by the equally barbarous Pictish tribes of the mountains. After this event, succeeded a period of confusion and civil war, arising from the struggles between the races of the Scots and of the Northern Picts, for pre-eminence on the one part, and independence on the other; and when order and learning once more lifted up their heads amongst the contending tribes, a race of kings of Scottish lineage were firmly established on the throne, and the name of Scot and Scotland had spread over the whole country. A knowledge of the real origin of the Highland clans was, in some degree, lost in the confusion. The natural

result of the pre-eminence of the Scottish name in the country was a gradual belief in the Scottish origin of the Highland clans; and this belief, which must eventually have prevailed even among the clans themselves, was firmly fixed in their minds at an earlier period by a circumstance in the history of

First general
tradition
assigns an
Irish origin
to the clans.

Scotland which will be afterwards noticed. The first system, then, which produced a change in the traditional origin of the Highlands may be called the *Scottish* or *Irish* system.

The oldest and purest specimen of this tradition which I have been able to discover, is contained in an ancient parchment MS., containing genealogies of most of the Highland clans, and which, from internal evidence, appears to have been written about A.D. 1450.¹ In this MS. the different clans are brought from two sources. First, the Macdonalds and their numerous dependants are brought from Colla Uais, an Irish king of the fourth century; second, the other clans mentioned in the MS. are brought in different lines from Feradach Fin and his son, Fearchar Fada, the latter of whom was a king of Dalriada, of the line of Lorn, and reigned in the early part of the eighth century. I shall state shortly the reasons which induce me to think generally that this could not have been the true origin of these clans, and that it must have been a system introduced by circumstances, and one which gradually obtained belief among the Highlanders. The particular objection to the origin of the different clans mentioned in the MS. will be found under the head of each clan. In the *first* place, it will be remarked, that although the Dalriads consisted of the three different

¹ This MS., the value and importance of which it is impossible to estimate too highly, was discovered by the Author among the MSS. in the collection of the Faculty of Advocates. After a strict and attentive examination of its contents and appearance, the Author came to the conclusion that it must have been written by a person of the name of M'Lachlan as early as the year 1450; and this conclusion with regard to its antiquity was afterwards confirmed by dis-

covering upon it the date of 1467. As this MS. will be very frequently quoted in the course of this part of the Work, it will be referred to as "the MS. of 1450," to distinguish it from the other Gaelic MSS. to which allusion will be made. The Author may add, that he has printed the text of the MS. in question, accompanied with a literal English translation, in the first number of the valuable *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, edited by the Iona Club.

tribes of Lorn, Cowall, and Kintyre; and although, as we have seen, the tribe of Lorn was almost annihilated, while that of Kintyre attained to so great power as eventually to obtain the supreme authority over all Scotland, yet the clans in this MS. inhabiting the greater part of the Highlands, including the extensive districts of Moray and Ross, are all brought from the small and almost annihilated tribe of Lorn, and not one from any of the other Dalriadic tribes. It is almost inconceivable that the population of such immense districts could have sprung from the small tribe of Lorn alone. In the *second* place, if we suppose the general system of the descent of the clans from the Dalriadic tribe of Lorn, as contained in the MS., to be correct, then the relative affinities of the clans with each other will be found at utter variance with those which are known and established by authentic documents. The clans brought by this MS. from the line of Lorn may be divided into two classes; first, those brought from sons or brothers of Fearchar Fada; secondly, those brought from a certain Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh, a descendant of Fearchar. In the second class, the Rosses are made nearer in connexion to the Macnabs than the Mackinnons, and yet there is no tradition of any connexion having subsisted between the Rosses and the Macnabs, a connexion which distance of abode renders improbable; while, on the other hand, there exists a bond of Manrent between the Macnabs and Mackinnons, founded upon their close connexion and descent from two brothers. The same remark applies to the Macgregors, Mackinnons, and Macquarries, who by the MS. are made no nearer to each other than they are to the Rosses, Mackenzies, &c. If, however, we leave out of view those earlier parts of the different genealogies by which the clans are connected with the kings of the line of Lorn, then we shall find the rest of the MS. to be borne out in a most remarkable manner by every authentic record of the history of the different clans which remains to us. In the third place, those early parts of the different genealogies do not agree among themselves; thus, Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh is upon different occasions made great-great-grandson, great-grandson, grandson, a remote descendant, nephew, and brother of Fearchar Fada.

It will be shewn in another place, that there is every reason

to think that the genealogies contained in the MS. are perfectly authentic for the last *fourteen* generations, or as far back as the year 1000 A.C., but that previous to that date they are to be regarded as altogether fabulous.¹

Upon the whole, the only inferences which can be legitimately drawn from the MS. are, 1st—That there was at that time an universal belief in the Highlands, that the Highland clans formed a distinct people of the same race, and acknowledging a common origin. 2dly—That the clans mentioned in the MS. apparently consist of three great divisions; the clans contained in each division being more closely connected among themselves than with those of the other divisions. The *first* consists of the Macdonells and other families descended from them. The *second*, of those clans which are said by the MS. to be descended from sons or brothers of Fearchar Fada, and who inhabit principally the ancient district of Moray. The third is formed by the principal Ross-shire clans, together with the clan Alpin, who are brought from Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh.

The second general tradition deduced the clans from the heroes of Scottish and Irish history.

The next system of traditionary origins which was introduced into the Highlands, and which supplanted the former, may be termed the *heroic* system, and may be characterized as deducing many of the Highland clans from the great heroes in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland, by identifying one of these fabulous heroes with an ancestor of the clan of the same name. This system seems to have sprung up very shortly before the date of the MS. before referred to, and to have very soon obtained credit in the Highlands, probably in consequence of the effect of its flattering character upon the national vanity. We can trace the appearance of this system in some of the clans contained in the MS. of 1450. It seems to have been first adopted by the Macdonalds, who identified two of their ancestors, named Colla and Conn, with Colla Uais and Conn of the hundred battles, two celebrated kings of Ireland. In the Macneills we actually see the change taking place, for while they have preserved their descent in the MS. according to the Irish system, they have already identified their ancestor, who

¹ See *infra*, chap. ii.

gave his name to the clan, with Neill Naoi Giall, a king of Ireland, who reigned many hundred years before they existed. In the Macgregors we can detect the change taking place in the latter part of the 15th century. In a MS. genealogy written in the year 1512,¹ I find that the Macgregors are brought in a direct line from Kenneth Macalpin, a hero famed in fabulous history as the exterminator of the whole Pictish nation; whereas, in the MS. of 1450, we have seen that their origin is very different; so that this change must have taken place between these two periods. The publication of the history of Fordun, and the chronicle of Winton, had given a great popular celebrity to the heroes of Scottish history, and some of the Highland Sennachies finding a tribe of the Macgregors termed Macalpins, probably took advantage of that circumstance to claim a descent from the great hero of that name. The same cause apparently induced them afterwards to desert their supposed progenitor Kenneth, and to substitute in his place Gregory the Great, a more mysterious, and therefore, perhaps, in their idea, a greater hero than Kenneth.

A similar change may be observed in the traditionary origin of the Macintoshes, Mackenzies, Macleans, &c.; the Macintoshes, who, in the MS. of 1450, are made a part of the clan Chattan, and descended from Gillechattan Mor, the great progenitor of that race, appear soon after to have denied this descent, and to have claimed as their ancestor, Macduff, the Thane of Fife, himself a greater and more romantic hero even than Kenneth Macalpin. They were, however, unfortunate in this choice, as in later times the very existence of Macduff has with some reason been doubted, and they were perhaps induced to choose him from the fact that the late earls of Fife possessed extensive property in their neighbourhood, and also that there is some reason for thinking that the earls of Fife were actually a branch of the same race.

Not to multiply instances of the change of the traditionary origins to this system, I shall only mention at present the Mackenzies and the Macleans, who, probably, from finding the Scotch field occupied, took a wider flight, and claimed descent

¹ MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

from a certain Colin Fitzgerald, a scion of the noble family of Kildare, who is said to have greatly contributed to the victory at Largs in 1266. This origin, it has been seen, was altogether unknown in 1450, at which period the Mackenzies were universally believed to have been a branch of the Rosses.

The *last* system of Highland origins did not appear till the seventeenth century, and is not the production of the Highland Sennachies. It may be termed the Norwegian or Danish system, and sprung up at the time when the fabulous history of Scotland first began to be doubted; when it was considered to be a principal merit in an antiquary to display his scepticism as to all the old traditions of the country; and when the slender knowledge of the true history, which they did possess, produced in their minds merely a vague idea of the immense extent of the Norwegian conquests and settlements in the north of Scotland. Not only was every thing imputed to the Danes, but every one was supposed to be descended from them. This idea, however, never obtained any great credit in the Highlands. The greatest effort of the favourers of this system was that of making the Macleods the direct descendants of the Norwegian kings of Mann and the Isles, a descent for which there is not a vestige of authority. Besides this, I possess a MS. genealogy of the Macleods, written in the sixteenth century, in which there is no mention whatever of such an origin.¹ I may also mention the Camerons, who are said to be descended from Cambro, a Dane; the Grants from Acquin de Grandt, a Dane; the Macdonalds from the Norwegians of the Isles; the Campbells from de Campo-Bello, a Norman; and many others, but all of which are equally groundless, as will be shewn in the sequel.

Such is a short view of the different systems of descent which have sprung up in the Highlands, and of the causes which apparently led to their being adopted; and from these few remarks which have been made upon the origin of the Highland clans, we may draw two conclusions. In the *first* place, we may conclude that circumstances may cause the traditionary origin of the different Highland clans to change, and a new

The last tradition assigns Norman and Norwegian ancestors to many of the clans.

¹ MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

origin to be introduced, and gradually to obtain general belief; and arguing from analogy, the real origin of the Highlanders may be lost, and a different origin, in itself untrue, may be received in the country as the true one. Farther, in this way there may be a succession of traditions in the Highland families, all of them differing equally from each other and from the truth. In the *second* place, we may conclude, that although the general system of the origin of the clans contained in a MS. may be false, yet the farther back we go, there appears a stronger and more general belief that the Highland clans formed a peculiar and distinct nation, possessing a community of origin, and also, that throwing aside the general systems, the affinities of the different clans to each other have been through all their changes uniformly preserved.

Such being the case, it is manifest that we should consider these old MS. genealogies merely as affording proof that the Highland clans were all of the same race, and that in order to ascertain what that race was, we should look to other sources. It has already been shewn, from historic authority, that the Highlanders of the tenth century were the descendants of the Northern Picts of the seventh and eighth. Now, when it appears that the Highlanders at that time were divided into several great tribes

inhabiting those northern districts which were afterwards known as earldoms, and that these tribes had hereditary chiefs, who appear in the chronicles in connexion with their respective districts, under the title of Maormors—and when it also appears that in many of the districts these Maormors of the tenth century can be traced down in succession to the reign of David I., at which time, in compliance with the Saxon customs then introduced, they assumed the title of Comes, and became the first earls in Scotland:—and when it can be shewn that in a few generations more, almost all of these great chiefs became extinct in the male line; that Saxon nobles came by marriage into possession of their territories and honours; and that then the different clans appear for the first time in these districts, and in independence; we are irresistibly drawn to the conclusion, that the Highland clans are not of different or of

The old MS. genealogies merely prove that the Highland clans possessed a common origin.

The clans in reality descended from the great tribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, whose chiefs were afterwards termed earls.

foreign origin, but that they were a part of the original nation, who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man, or the records of history can reach—that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came in their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found.

This conclusion, to which we have arrived by these general arguments, is strongly corroborated by a very remarkable circumstance: for, notwithstanding that the system of an Irish or Dalriadic origin of the Highland clans had been introduced as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, we can still trace the existence in the Highlands, even as late as the sixteenth century, of a still older tradition than that contained in the MS. of 1450; a tradition altogether distinct and different from that one, and one which not only agrees in a singular manner with the system developed in this Work, but which also stamps the Dalriadic tradition as the invention of the Scottish monks, and accounts for its introduction.

A tradition of a Pictish descent can be traced in the Highlands.

The first proof of the existence of this tradition which I shall bring forward, is contained in a letter dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. of England, by a person designating himself "John Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke." It will be necessary, however, to premise that the author uses the word "*Yrische*" in the same sense in which the word *Erse* was applied to the Highlanders, his word for Irish being differently spelt. In that letter he mentions the "Yrische lords of Scotland, *commonly callit REDD SCHANKES*, and by *historiagraphouris*, PICTIS." He then proceeds to give an account of the origin of the Highlanders; he describes them as inhabiting Scotland "befor the incummynge of Albanactus Brutus second sonne," and as having been "gyauntes and wylde people without ordour, civilitie, or maners, and *spake none other language but Yrische*;" that they were civilized by Albanactus from whom they were "*callit Albonyghe*." And after this account of their origin, he adds, "which derivacion the papistical curside spiritualitie of Scotland, *will not heir* in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that ever *such a*

kyng, namede *Albanactus* reagnedether, the which derivacion all the Yrische men of Scotland, which be the *auncient stoke*, cannot, nor will not denye."

He then proceeds to say, "But our said bussheps drywithe Scotland and theme selves, from a certain lady namede *Scota*, which (as they alledge) came out of *Egipte*, a maraculous hote cuntreth, to recreatt himself emonges theame in the colde ayre of Scotland, *which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author.*" From the extracts which have been made from this curious author, it will at once be seen, that there were at that time in Scotland *two* conflicting traditions regarding the origin of the Reddschankes or Highlanders, the one supported by the Highlanders of the "*more auncient stoke*," the other by the "curside spiritualitie of Scotland;" and from the indignation and irritation which he displays against the "bussheps," it is plain that the latter tradition was fast gaining ground, and must indeed have generally prevailed. The last tradition is easily identified with that contained in the MS. of 1450, and consequently there must have existed among the purer Highlanders a still older tradition by which their origin was derived from the "*Pictis.*"

The existence of such a tradition in Scotland at the time is still further proved by Stapleton's Translation of the Venerable Bede, which was written in 1550. In that translation he renders the following passage of Bede, "*Cugus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat,*" as follows:—"The house of his religion was no small time the head house of all the monasteries of the northern Scottes, and of the abbyes of all the REDDSCHANKES." It would be needless to multiply quotations to shew that the Highlanders were at that time universally known by the term Reddschankes.

The accordance of the oldest tradition which can be traced in the country, with the conclusion to which a strict and critical examination of all the ancient authorities on the subject had previously brought us, forms a body of evidence regarding the true origin of the Highlanders of Scotland to which the history of no other nation can exhibit a parallel. The authority of John Elder, however, not only proves the tradition of the descent of

the Highlanders from the Picts, to have existed in the Highlands before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, but we can even ascertain from him the origin of the later system, and the cause of its obtaining such universal belief.

It appears from John Elder's letter, that the clergy of Scotland asserted the descent of the Highlanders from the Scots of Dalriada, and that the older Highland families held a different tradition, which agrees with the system contained in this Work. The object of John Elder's letter, however, was to assure the King of England of support in the Highlands in his plans of obtaining influence in Scotland, and the Highland chiefs who held this older tradition are just those whom he afterwards names to King Henry as in the English interest. Now it is very remarkable, that the first trace of the Dalriadic system which we can discover, is in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320 by the party who asserted the independence of Scotland. To this party the clergy of Scotland unquestionably belonged, while it is equally clear that the Highland chiefs, with very few exceptions, belonged to the English party; and upon comparing the traditionary history upon which Edward I. founded his claim, and which of course his party in Scotland must have believed, we actually find it to be a part of the same tradition which John Elder asserts to have been held by the older Highland families, and which included a belief of their descent from the Picts. The cause of the prevalence of the Scottish story is now clear; for the question of the independence of Scotland having been most improperly placed by the two parties on the truth of their respective traditions, it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which they asserted; and that the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands, as well as in the rest of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the absolute belief in the descent of the Highlanders, as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland, from the Scots of Dalriada.

We see, however, from John Elder, that, notwithstanding the succession of false traditions which prevailed in the Highlands at different times, traces of the true one were still to be found.

This remark, however, is true also of the traditionary origins of individual clans, as well as of the Highlanders in general; for although tradition assigns to them an origin which is untrue, still we can invariably trace in some part of that tradition the real story, although it assumes a false aspect and colouring from its being connected with a false tradition.

The most remarkable instance of this occurs in those clans who assert a Scandinavian or Norman origin; for we invariably find, in such cases, that their tradition asserted a marriage of the foreign founder of their race with the heiress of that family of which they were in reality a branch. Thus, the Macintoshes assert that they are descended from the Earl of Fife, and obtained their present lands by marriage with the heiress of clan Chattan, and yet they can be proved to have been from the beginning a branch of that clan. The Campbells say that they are a Norman family, who married the heiress of Paul O'Duibhne, lord of Lochow, and yet they can be proved to be descended from the O'Duibhnes. The Grants, who are a sept of the clan Alpin, no sooner claimed a foreign descent from the Danish Acquin de Grandt, than they asserted that their ancestor had married the heiress of *Macgregor*, lord of Freuchie; the Camerons and Mackenzies, when they assumed the Danish Cambro and the Norman Fitzgerald for their founders, asserted a marriage with the heiresses of Macmartin and Matheson, of which families they can be proved to have been severally descended in the male line. The first thing which strikes us as remarkable in this fact is, that the true tradition invariably assumes the *same* aspect, although that a false one, with regard to *all* the clans; and there is also another fact with regard to these clans which will probably throw some light upon the cause of the adoption of a false tradition, and the singular and unvarying aspect which the true one assumes—viz., that most of the families who assert a foreign origin, and account for their position at the head of a Highland clan by a marriage with the heiress of its chief, are just those very families, and no other, whom we find using the title of captain; and that the family who oppose their title to the chiefship invariably assert a male descent from the chief whose daughter they are said to have married. The word captain implies a person in

actual possession of the leading of the clan who has no right by blood to that station; and it will afterwards be proved that every family who used the title of captain of a particular clan, were the oldest cadets of that clan, who had usurped the leading of it, to the prejudice of the chief by blood. Now, as the identity of the false aspect which the true tradition assumes in all of these cases, implies that the cause was the same in all, we may assume that wherever these two circumstances are to be found combined, of a clan claiming a foreign origin, and asserting a marriage with the heiress of a Highland family, whose estates they possessed and whose followers they led, they must invariably have been the oldest cadet of that family, who by usurpation or otherwise had become *de facto* chief of the clan, and who covered their defect of right by blood by denying their descent from the clan, and asserting that the founder of their house had married the heiress of its chief.

The general deduction from the MS. genealogies of the Highland clans is, that the various clans were divided into several great tribes, the clans forming each of these separate tribes being deduced by the genealogies from a common ancestor, while a marked distinction is drawn between the different tribes, and indications can at the same time be traced in each tribe, which identify them with the earldoms or maormorships into which the north of Scotland was anciently divided.

This will appear from the following table of the distribution of the clans by the old genealogies into different tribes:—

I. DESCENDANTS OF CONN OF THE HUNDRED BATTLES.

The <i>Lords of the Isles</i> , or	The Maclauchlans.
Macdonalds.	The Macewens.
The Macdougalls.	The Maclaisrichs.
The Macneills.	The Maceacherns.

II. DESCENDANTS OF FERCHAR FATA MAC FERADAIG.

The <i>Old Maormors of Moray</i> .	The Macphersons.
The Macintoshes.	The Macnaughtons.

III. DESCENDANTS OF CORMAC MAC OIRBERTAIG.

The <i>Old Earls of Ross</i> .	The Mackinnons.
The Mackenzies.	The Macquarries.
The Mathiesons.	The Macnabs.
The Macgregors.	The Macduffies.

IV. DESCENDANTS OF FERGUS LEITH DEARG.

The Macleods.	The Campbells.
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V. DESCENDANTS OF KRYCUL.

The Macnicols.

In the following notices of the Highland clans we shall take the various great tribes into which the Highlanders were originally divided, and which are identic with the old earldoms, in their order; and after giving a sketch of the history and fall of their ancient chiefs or earls, we shall proceed, under the head of each tribe, to the different clans which formed a part of that tribe, and then for the first time appeared in independence.

CHAPTER II.

I. THE GALLGAEL.

WHEN the Norse Sagas and Irish Annals first throw their steady though faint light upon the history of the north of Scotland, we can distinctly trace, in the restless warfare at that period excited by the incessant incursions of the northern pirates, the frequent appearance of a people termed by the Irish annalists the Gallgael, or Gaelic pirates. The northern pirates were at that time known to the Irish writers by the name of Fingall and Dugall, the former being applied to the Norwegians, the latter to the Danes. The word Gall, originally signifying a stranger, came to be applied to every pirate, and we find a strong distinction invariably implied between the white and the black Galls, and those to whom they added the name of Gael, or Gaelic Galls. The latter people are first mentioned in the Irish Annals in the year 855, when we find them assisting the Irish against the Norwegians; and in the following year they again appear under their leader, Caittil fin, or the white, at war with the Norwegian pirate kings of Dublin. In 1034, Tighernac mentions the death of Suibne, the son of Kenneth, king of the Gallgael; and in 1154 we find mention made of an expedition to Ireland by the "Gallgael of Arran, Kintyre, Man, and the Cantair Alban." This last passage proves that the Gallgael were the inhabitants of the Isles and of Argyll, the expression Cantair Alban being equivalent to the Oirir Alban or Oirir Gael of other writers, and to the Ergadia of the Scottish historians; and as Arefrodi, the oldest Norse writer which we possess, mentions the occupation of the Western Isles, on the departure of Harold Harfagr, by Vikingr Skotar, a term which is an exact translation of the appellation Gallgael, it seems clear that the Gallgael must have possessed the Isles as well

as Argyll, from the period of the Scottish conquest, in the ninth century, to the middle of the twelfth, while the expression of *Are frodi* equally clearly implies that they were native Scots and not Norwegians.

The Gallgael were certainly independent in the ninth century, and also in the beginning of the eleventh, when a king of the race is mentioned; it is therefore not improbable that the kings of the Isles between these periods were of this race. The first king of the Isles who is mentioned is Anlaf, who attempted, in conjunction with Constantine, the Scottish king, to obtain possession of Northumberland, but was defeated by Athelstan, the Saxon king, at Brunanburgh, in 938. Anlaf is styled by the Saxon historians, *Rex plurimarum insularum*, and that he was king of the Western Isles, and of the same race with the Gallgael, is put beyond all doubt by the *Egílla Saga*, which ancient document not only calls him a king in Scotland, but expressly states that he had Danish blood from his mother, who was a Dane, and a descendant of Regnar Lodbrog, but that *his father was a native Scot*.¹ Anlaf was the son of Sidroc, who was put by the Danes in possession of Northumberland; and as Anlaf is called by the Irish writers grandson of Ivar, and it is well known that Ivar was a son of Regnar Lodbrog, it follows from the passage in the *Egílla Saga*, that Sidroc must have been a native Scot of the race of the Gallgael, who married the daughter of Ivar, the principal leader of the Danish pirates, and was made by him king of the Northumbrians. But it would farther appear that Sidroc was the brother of the king of the Gallgael, for the Saxon historians mention, in 914, the death of *Nial rex* by his brother Sidroc. Sidroc was at this time in possession of Northumberland, so that king Nial was probably the king of the Gallgael, and on his unnatural death was succeeded by his nephew Anlaf.

In ascertaining the earlier kings of this race we are assisted by the Manx traditions. Sacheverel, in his curious work on

¹ *Egílla Saga*.—*Olafr Raudi* het *at modur kyni* oc kominn af aett konungr a Skotlandi hann var *Ragnars Lodbrokar*.
Skotzkr at faudr kyni enn Danskr

the Isle of Man, mentions that there was a very old tradition, that previous to the conquest of the Island by Godred Crovan, in the end of the eleventh century, it was ruled by twelve successive kings of the same race, the first of whom was named Orree, and conquered the island about the middle of the ninth century. This tradition is very remarkably confirmed, for we recognise in the names of these kings the kings of the Isles of the race of Sidroc, of whom Anlaf is the first mentioned by the historians, while the first of them is said to have conquered Man at the very time when, as we have seen, the Gallgael took possession of the Western Isles. The accuracy of the tradition, however, is still farther evinced by the fact that the Lodbrogar quida, an authentic and almost contemporary record of the piratical expeditions of Regnar Lodbrog, in describing an attack upon the Western Isles by Regnar, in 850, actually mentions that he slew Aurn conungr, or king Aurn at Isla. The resemblance of name is sufficient to identify him with the Orree of the Manx tradition, and it would thus appear that the Gallgael, a native tribe, had under their king Orree, or Aurn, taken possession of the Western Isles and Man shortly after the date of the Scottish conquest in 843. It is now clear who these Gallgael were, for they possessed Argyll as well as the Isles; and it has been previously shewn, that the whole of Argyll was, immediately after the Scottish conquest in 843, possessed by the tribe of the Caledonii,¹ who had previously inhabited the districts of Atholl, Lochaber, and North Argyll. The Pictish origin of the Gallgael is, however, established by another circumstance. The territories occupied by the Gallgael in the ninth century constituted exactly the diocese of Dunkeld. The first measure of Kenneth M'Alpin, on his conquest of the southern Picts, was to establish the Culdee Church over the whole of the conquered territory, and in consequence of this great extension of that church, he found it necessary to remove the primacy from Iona to Dunkeld. With this church the primacy remained until the reign of Grig, when the primacy was removed from Dunkeld to St. Andrews; and the Scots appear to have obtained the removal

¹ See Part I., p. 87.

of their subjection to the diocese of Dunkeld, as the price of their submission to the usurper Grig. The expression of the chronicle in narrating this event is remarkable—

“Qui dedit *Ecclesiæ* libertates *Scoticanae*,
Quæ sub *Pictorum* lege redacta fuit ;”¹

and the inference is clear that the inhabitants of the diocese of Dunkeld at least, that is, the Gallgael, were at that time Picts. The early history of this tribe is now sufficiently clear: on the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots, they obtained possession of Dalriada, which, along with their previous possessions of Lochaber and Wester Ross, now received the appellation of Oirir Gael, or the Coastlands of the Gael, probably in contradistinction to their inland possessions of Atholl; and a few years afterwards they added the Western Isles to their now extensive territories. Here their king, Aurn, was slain by Regnar. As Regnar immediately after this attacked the Fingall in Ireland, and continued at war with them for some years; and as at the same period we find the Gallgael, under their leader Caittil fin, also engaged in hostilities with the Fingall, it is probable that Regnar had compelled them to join him, and that it was in consequence of this union, and of the pirate life which they were compelled to adopt, that they obtained the Irish name of Gallgael, and the Norse appellation of Vikingr Skotar. On the arrival of the sons of Regnar, in 865, to avenge their father's death, Caittil appears to have joined them with his Gallgael, and is probably the same person with the Oskytel, whom the Saxon historians mention as one of the leaders in that expedition. His successor was Neil, who was put to death by his own brother Sidroc, who, having married the daughter of Ivar, the son of Regnar Lodbrog, had, on the success of the expedition, been put in possession of Northumberland. On Sidroc's death, his son Anlaf found himself unable to retain possession of Northumberland, but held the Scottish territories of his race, from whence he made two unsuccessful attempts to regain Northumberland. The next king of the Isles mentioned by the historians, is Maccus, styled by the Saxon writers “rex plurimarum insularum,” and by the Irish

¹ Chron. Eleg.

writers, the son of Arailt. It appears from the same writers that he was Anlaf's nephew, for they style Arailt the grandson of Ivar and son of Sidroc. Maccus was succeeded by his brother, Godfrey Mac Arailt, who was slain in an Irish expedition in 987, and not long after his death the Isles were conquered, along with a considerable part of the north of Scotland, by Sigurd, the earl of Orkney. Among the Scottish earls mentioned by the Sagas as reconquering the north of

Scotland from Sigurd, is Hundi or Kenneth. He A.D. 998. was probably the same Kenneth who was father of Suibne, king of the Gallgael in 1034, and at the same time must have been son of Godfrey, as we find Ranald Mac Godfrey king of the Isles in 1004. On Ranald's death, in 1004, Suibne, the son of Kenneth, reigned over this tribe until 1034, when, as his death exactly synchronises with the conquest of the Isles and the whole of the north of Scotland by Thorfinn, the earl of Orkney, it would appear that he had been slain by that powerful earl in the unsuccessful defence of his territories. From this period there is no mention of any king of the Gallgael, and it is certain that the subsequent kings of the Isles were not of this race. It is therefore apparent that this petty kingdom never afterwards rose to the same state in which it had been before the conquest of Thorfinn, and that the different septs into which the tribe became separated on the death of their king in 1034, never again united under one head. We shall now, therefore, trace the origin and history of the various septs whom we find inhabiting these districts at a later period, under the two great divisions of Argyll and Atholl.

Argyll.

The ancient district of Argyll consisted of the present county of that name, together with the districts of Lochaber and Wester Ross, and was known to the Highlanders by the name of the Cantair, or Oirir, Alban, and sometimes of Oirirgael, whence the present name is derived. The present district of Wester Ross was termed by them Oirir an tuath, or the Northern coastlands, and the remaining part received the name of the Oirir an deas, or Southern coastlands. From

the previous history of this district, it is probable that this name was derived from its forming the maritime part of the territories of the Gallgael, in opposition to their inland possessions of Atholl. By the historians, the whole of this extensive district is included under the term of Ergadia, and the northern and southern divisions under those of Ergadia Borealis and Ergadia Australis. When the Saxon polity of sheriffdoms was introduced into Scotland, the government had not such a secure footing in the Highlands as to enable them to distribute it into numerous sheriffdoms, and thus to force obedience to the laws, by means of the sheriffs, everywhere established, as they did in the Lowlands. Such a subjection to royal authority in the person of sheriffs could only in the Highlands be a nominal one, but the principles of the Saxon polity then introduced, required that the whole country should either nominally or really be distributed into sheriffdoms, and accordingly the whole of the Highlands was divided into two, the districts north of the Mounth forming the sheriffdom of Inverness, while those south of that range were included in the sheriffdom of Perth. In this state the Highlands remained till the reign of Alexander II., divided into two sheriffdoms, each of which in extent resembled more a petty kingdom than the sheriffdom of the rest of the country; and that sheriff-making monarch revived the Saxon policy of bringing conquered districts under permanent subjection to the laws and government, by erecting them into a new and separate sheriffdom, and thus arose the additional shires of Elgin, Nairn, Banff, Cromarty, and Argyll. In this way, previous to the reign of Alexander II., the districts of North and South Argyll were included in separate shires, the former being in Inverness, the latter in Perth. To the Norse the whole district was known by the name of Dala, under which appellation it is first mentioned in the end of the tenth century, and is included among the conquests of Sigurd, the second of that name, Earl of Orkney, and the same term is used by the Norse writers for this district down to the end of the twelfth century. In 1093 the Western Isles were conquered by Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, and the conquest was confirmed to him by Malcolm Kenmore, then commencing

the expedition into England, in which he lost his life, who resigned to Magnus all the Western Isles round which he could sail in a boat of a particular size, but Magnus causing his boat to be dragged across the isthmus which unites Kintyre and Knapdale, asserted that the former district came within the description of those which were resigned to him, and thus was Kintyre separated from Argyll,¹ and united to the kingdom of the Isles, of which it ever afterwards formed a part. This great district of Argyll was inhabited by a number of powerful clans, of which the most potent were the Macdonalds and other clans of the same race, who exercised for a long period an almost regal sway in these regions, and who were anciently included under the general designation of the Siol Cuinn, or race of Conn, a remote ancestor of the tribe.

Siol Cuinn.

This tribe was one far too distinguished to escape the grasping claims of the Irish Sennachies, and accordingly it appears to have been among the very first to whom an Irish origin was imputed; but later antiquaries, misled by the close connection which at all times subsisted between the Macdonalds and the Norwegians of the Isles, have been inclined rather to consider them as of Norwegian origin. Neither of these theories, however, admit of being borne out either by argument or authority. The followers of the Irish system can only produce a vague tradition in its support against the manifest improbability of the supposition that a tribe possessing such extensive territories in Scotland should have been of foreign origin, while history is altogether silent as to the arrival of any such people in the country. Besides this, it has been formerly shewn that there is reason to regard the Irish traditions in Scotland as of but late origin. As to the Norwegian theory, it has principally arisen from its supporters having overlooked the fact, that when the Danish and Norwegian pirates ravaged the shores of Scotland, and brought its inhabitants under their subjection, the conquered Gael adopted in

¹ Magnus Barefoot's Saga.

some degree the Norwegian habits of piracy, and took frequently an active share in their predatory expeditions. These Gael are termed, as we have seen in the Irish Annals, Gallgael, or the Norwegian Gael, to distinguish them from those Gael who were independent of the Norwegians, or who took no part in their expeditions, and we have every reason to think consisted principally of the Siol Cuinn.

The traditions of the Macdonalds themselves tend to shew that they could not have been of foreign origin. The whole of the Highlands, and especially the districts possessed by the Gallgael, were inhabited by the northern Picts, as we have seen, at least as late as the eleventh century. In the middle of the twelfth, the Orkneying Saga terms Somerled and his sons, who were the chiefs of this tribe, the Dalveria Aett, or Dalverian family, a term derived from Dala, the Norse name for the district of Argyll, and which implies that they had been for some time indigenous in the district; and this is confirmed in still stronger terms by the Flatey-book, consequently the Macdonalds were either the descendants of these Pictish inhabitants of Argyll, or else they must have entered the country subsequently to that period.

But the earliest traditions of the family uniformly bear that they had been indigenous in Scotland from a much earlier period than that. Thus, James Macdonell, of Dunluce, in a letter written to King James VI., in 1596, has this passage—"Most mightie and potent prince, recommend us unto your hieness with our service for ever your grace shall understand that our forebears hath been from time to time¹ your servants unto your own kingdome of Scotland." And again, in 1615, Sir James Macdonald, of Kintyre, expresses himself, in a letter to the Bishop of the Isles, in these words—"Seeing my race has been *tenne hundred years* kyndlie Scottismen under the kings of Scotland—." Although many other passages of a similar nature might be produced, these instances may for the present suffice to shew that there existed a tradition in this family of their having been natives of Scotland from time

¹ The expression of "from time to time," when it occurs in ancient documents, always signifies from time immemorial.

immemorial ; and it is therefore scarcely possible to suppose that they could have entered the country subsequently to the ninth century. But besides the strong presumption that the Macdonalds are of Pictish descent, and formed a part of the great tribe of the Gallgael, we fortunately possess distinct authority for both of these facts. For the former, John Elder includes the Macdonalds among the ancient Stoke, who still retained the tradition of a Pictish descent, in opposition to the later tradition insisted in by the Scottish clergy, and this is sufficient evidence for the fact that the oldest tradition among the Macdonalds must have been one of a Pictish origin. The latter appears equally clear from the last mention of the Gallgael, in which they are described as the inhabitants of Argyll, Kintyre, Arran, and Man ; and as these were at this very period the exact territories which Somerled possessed, it follows of necessity that the Macdonalds were the same people.

The identity of the Gallgael with the tribe over which Somerled ruled as hereditary chief, being thus established, the independent kings of the Gallgael must in all probability have been his ancestors, and ought to be found in the old genealogies of the family. The last independent king of the Gallgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, whose death is recorded in 1034, and exactly contemporary with this Suibne, the MS. of 1450, places a Suibne among the ancestors of Somerled ; accordingly, as the Gallgael and the Macdonalds were the same tribe, the two Suibnes must have been meant for the same person. But the MS. makes the name of Suibne's father to have been Nialgusa, and there does not occur a Kenneth in the genealogy at all. As an authority upon this point, Tighernac must be preferred, and his account is corroborated by most of the old Scottish writers, who mention the existence at that time of a Kenneth, Thane of the Isles ; and farther, at the very same period, as we have seen, one of the northern Maormors who opposed Sigurd, earl of Orkney, was named Kenneth. We must consequently receive Tighernac's account as the most accurate ; but above Kenneth we find the two accounts again different, for there is no resemblance whatever between the previous kings of the Gallgael and the

earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies; and the MS. of 1450, without mentioning any of these kings at all, leads the genealogy amongst the Irish kings and heroes.

Here then we have the point where the fabulous genealogies of the Highland and Irish Sennachies were connected with the genuine history.

The MS. of 1450 is supported in its genealogy of the Macdonalds by all other authorities up to Suibne, and here the true history, as contained in the Irish Annals and the genealogy of the MS., separate; the one mentions the Gallgaels under their leaders as far back as the year 856, while the other connects Suibne by a different genealogy altogether with the Irish kings. It is obvious, then, that this is the point where the Irish genealogies were connected with the real line of the chiefs, and an examination of this MS. will shew that the period where the genealogies of the other clans were also connected with the Irish kings was the same. We may therefore conclude, that previous to the eleventh century the MS. of 1450, and the Irish genealogies of the Highland clans, are of no authority whatever, and consequently, that the Siol Cuinn is of native origin.

After the death of Suibne we know nothing of the history of the clan until we come to Gille Adomnan, the grandfather of Somerled, who, according to the fragment of an ancient Gaelic MS., was driven out of his possession in Scotland by the violence of the Lochlans and Fingalls, and took refuge in Ireland. The expedition of Magnus Barefoot in 1093 is probably here alluded to. The same authority proceeds to inform us, that "whilst Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan was residing in Ireland, the descendants of Colla, consisting of the Macquarries and Macmahones, held a great meeting and assembly in Fermanagh, the county of Macquire, regarding Gillebride's affairs, how they might restore to him his patrimony, which had been abdicated from the violence of the Lochlan and Fingalls. When Gillebride saw such a large body of the Macquires assembled together, and that they were favourable to his cause, he besought them to embark in his quarrel, and to assist the people in Scotland who were favourable to him in an attempt to win back the possession of the country. The

people declared themselves willing to go, and four or five hundred put themselves under his command. With this company Gillebride proceeded to Alban, and came on shore——." ¹ Here, unfortunately, the fragment concludes abruptly, but it would appear that this expedition was unsuccessful, for another MS. history of considerable antiquity, but of which the beginning is also lost, commences with these words—"Somerled, the son of Gilbert, began to muse on the low condition and misfortune to which he and his father were reduced, and kept at first very retired." But Somerled was a person of no ordinary talents and energy; he put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven, and by a series of rapid attacks he succeeded, after a considerable struggle, in expelling the Norwegians, and in making himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and North Argyll. He soon afterwards added the southern districts of Argyll to his other possessions,

and David I. having at this period conquered the islands of Man, Arran, and Bute, from the Norwegians, he appears to have held these islands of the king of Scotland; but still finding himself unable, in point of strength, to cope with the Norwegians of the Isles, he, with true Highland policy, determined to gain these ancient possessions of his family by peaceful succession, since he could not acquire them by force of arms; and accordingly with that intent he prevailed, by a singular stratagem, in obtaining the hand of the daughter of Olaf the Red, the Norwegian king of the Isles, in marriage. Of this union the fruit was three sons, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; by a previous marriage he had an only son, Gillecolum.

Somerled, having now attained to very great power in the Highlands, resolved to make an attempt to place his grandsons, the sons of Winiund or Malcolm M'Heth, who had formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, in possession of their alleged inheritance. This unfortunate earldom seems to have been doomed by fate to become, during a succession of many centuries, the cause of all the rebellions in which Scotland was involved; and it now brought the Regulus of Argyll, as

¹ MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

Somerled is termed by the Scottish historians, for the first time in opposition to the king. Of the various events of this war we are ignorant, but from the words of an ancient chronicle it appears to have excited very great alarm among the inhabitants of Scotland. In all probability Somerled had found it expedient to return speedily to the Isles, by the recurrence of events there of more immediate importance to himself than the project of establishing his grandsons in their inheritance; for Godred, the Norwegian king of the Isles, and brother-in-law to Somerled, having at this time given loose to a tyrannical disposition, and having irritated his vassals by dispossessing some of their lands, and degrading others from their dignities, Thorfinn, the son of Ottar, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, determined to depose Godred, as the only means of obtaining relief, and to place another king on the throne of the Isles. For this purpose Thorfinn went to Somerled, and requested that he might have Dugall, his eldest son, who was Godred's nephew by his sister, in order to make him king in his place. Somerled rejoiced at the prospect of thus at last obtaining his object, and delivered up Dugall to the care of Thorfinn, who accordingly took the young prince, and conducting him through the Isles, compelled the chiefs of the Isles to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and to give hostages for their allegiance.

One of them, however, Paul Balkason, a powerful nobleman, who was Lord of Sky, refused to make the required acknowledgment, and, flying to the Isle of Man, acquainted Godred with the intended revolution. Alarmed at the intelligence, Godred instantly ordered his vassals to get their ships ready, and without delay, sailed to meet the enemy. He found that Somerled had already prepared for the expected struggle, and was advancing towards him with a fleet of eighty galleys. "A sea battle," says the Chronicle of Man, "was fought between Godred and Somerled during the night of the Epiphany, with great slaughter on both sides. Next morning, however, at daybreak, they came to a compromise, and divided the sovereignty of the Isles; so from that period they have formed two distinct monarchies till the present time. The ruin of the Isles may

be dated from the moment when part of them were ceded to the sons of Somerled. By this treaty, Somerled acquired all the islands south of the point of Ardnamurchan, but he no sooner found himself in secure possession of these islands than he was again involved in hostilities with the government, having joined the powerful party in Scotland who at this time determined to dethrone Malcolm IV. and place the Boy of Egremont on the throne, and in prosecution of that design commenced to infest the shores of Scotland with his fleet. On the failure of this attempt, Malcolm appears at length to have discovered that Somerled was becoming too powerful to be permitted to remain in the state of partial independence which he had assumed; he accordingly demanded that Somerled should resign his lands into the king's hands, and hold them in future as his vassal, and he prepared to enforce his demand by the aid of a powerful army. Somerled, however, emboldened by his previous successes, was little disposed to yield compliance to the king's desire, but on the contrary, resolved to anticipate the attack. Collecting his fleet accordingly from among the Isles, he soon appeared in the Clyde, and landed at Renfrew. Here he was met by the Scottish army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, and the result
A.D. 1164. of the battle which ensued was the defeat and death of Somerled, together with his son, Gillecolum.

This celebrated chief is described by an ancient Sennachie to have been "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." His territories at his death were very considerable, comprehending the whole of the district of Argyll, the original possession of the clan, and that portion of the Hebrides termed by the Norwegians the Sudreys. These great possessions, which he had acquired by his own personal exertions, did not descend entire to his successor; for, although his grandson, Somerled, the son of Gillecolum, succeeded to the whole of his Highland territories, the Isles, with the exception of Arran and Bute, had come to him with his wife, and consequently descended to Dugall, his eldest son by that marriage.

For a period of upwards of fifty years after the death of

Somerled, his grandson of the same name¹ appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of the extensive territories on the mainland of Scotland, to which he succeeded; and although we do not find him during that period in active rebellion, or offering any decided opposition to the government, yet there is reason to think that he formed the principal support to the numerous rebellions raised during that period in favour of the rival family of Mac William.

He appears, however, to have rendered a more active assistance to the last attempt made by that family in 1221, and the king probably took advantage of that

A.D. 1221. occasion to make an effort to reduce him more effectually under his power, for in that year, Alexander, having collected an army in Lothian and Galloway, attempted to penetrate the recesses of Argyll by sea, but was beat back by a tempest, and forced to take refuge in the Clyde. On the failure of this attempt, Alexander was not discouraged, but was resolved to attempt an expedition by land. He collected a large army from every quarter, and entered Argyll, and whether it is to be attributed to the military skill of the royal leader, or, as is more probable, to the incompetency of his adversary, and the divisions which have always existed in a Celtic country so extensive as that ruled by him, yet certain it is that in this year the king made himself master of the whole of Argyll, and Somerled took refuge in the Isles, where he met a violent death eight years afterwards.

According to Winton, the most honest and trustworthy of all our chroniclers—

“De kyng that yhere Argyle wan
Dat rebell wes til hym befor than
For wythe hys Ost thare in wes he
And Athe' tuk of thare Fewte,

¹The Scottish Historians and Highland Sennachies are unanimous in asserting that Somerled was succeeded by another Somerled, who rebelled against Alexander II. in 1221; and their account is confirmed by the Anecdotes of Olave the Black,

a Norse Saga, which mentions a Somerled a king, and calls him a relation of Duncan, the son of Dugall. I have ventured to call him son of Gillecolum, and grandson of Somerled, as the only probable supposition.

Wyth thare serwys and thare Homage,
Dat of hym wald hald thare Herytage,
But of the Ethchetys of the lave
To the Lordis of that land he gave."

By "the Lordis of that land," to whom the forfeited estates were given, Winton means the foreign vassals placed there by Alexander, for Fordun is quite distinct that those who had offended the king too deeply to hope for pardon fled, and their properties were bestowed upon those who had followed the army into Argyll. The general effect of this conquest, as it may well be called, was that the district of Argyll was no longer under the rule of a single lord. Wherever those who had previously held their possessions as vassals of Somerled submitted to the king and were received into favour, they became crown vassals, and held their lands in chief of the crown, while the estates of those who were forfeited were bestowed as rewards upon many of those who had joined the expedition into Argyll; and from the nature of the expedition, and especially from its complete success, it is probable that these were principally Highlanders. The forfeited estates were farther brought under the direct jurisdiction of the government by being, according to the invariable policy of Alexander II., erected into a sheriffdom by the name of Argyll, and the extent of this, the first sheriffdom bearing that name, enables us to define with certainty the districts which were forfeited by the native lords and bestowed upon strangers. The sheriffdom of Argyll originally consisted of that part of the country now known as the district of Argyll proper, consisting of the districts of Glenorchy, Lochow, Lochfine, Glassrie, and Ardskeodnish. These were bestowed upon the ancestors of the M'Gregors and Macnaughtans, and of a family, probably Lowland, termed De Glassrie, while the ancestor of the Campbells was made hereditary sheriff of the new sheriffdom. Besides this, the shire of Argyll included part of Lochaber, retained by the crown; the north half of Kintyre, bestowed upon a certain Dufgallus filius Syfin, and the upper half of Cowall given to a Campbell. The whole of Ergadia Borealis or North Argyll was granted to the Earl of Ross, who had rendered powerful assistance to the king both upon this and a former occasion.

The remainder of this great district of Argyll was now held of the crown by those who had formerly been vassals of Somerled, and consisted of Lochaber, held by the chief of the clan Chattan; Lorn, by sons of Dugall, the eldest son of the first Somerled by his second marriage; Knapdale by the ancestor of the Mac Neills; South Kintyre, by Roderick the son of Reginald, second son of Somerled; and the lower half of Cowall, by the ancestor of the Lamonds. These formed no part of the new sheriffdom of Argyll, but remained, as formerly, part of the sheriffdoms of Perth and Inverness.

In this manner was the power of the descendants of Somerled, by the first marriage, on the mainland completely broken for the time, and the fragments of the clan now looked up to the race of Dugall, the eldest son of the second marriage, who was in undisturbed possession of the share of the Isles acquired by Somerled, as their head. Dugall, the eldest son of this marriage, possessed, besides the Isles, the district of Lorn, as his share of the possessions of his paternal ancestors. But on his death, the Isles did not immediately descend to his children, but appear to have been acquired by his brother Reginald, according to the Highland law of succession, who, in consequence, assumed the title of king of the Isles. By the same laws, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father.

Dugall had left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the Norse Sagas, under the title of Sudereyan kings. As the Hebrides were at this time under the subjection of the Norwegian king, the sons of Somerled appear to have nominally acknowledged his authority, but as these Sagas abound in complaints against their fidelity, they seem to have professed submission to either king, as best suited their object for the time, while, in fact, they were in a state of actual independence. This state of matters occasioned Haco, at that time king of Norway, to determine, at length, to reduce these refractory chiefs to obedience; and for this purpose he selected a Norwegian, termed Uspac, gave him the name of Haco, with the title of king, and dispatched him to the Sudereys, with a Norwegian armament. Upon his arrival at the Hebrides, it was discovered most opportunely for the

Sudereyan kings, that Haco Uspac was in fact a son of Dugall, and brother of Dugall Scrag and Duncan, and accordingly, that which was intended for their overthrow, turned to their advantage. But in the meantime, Olave the Swarthy, king of Man, had proceeded to Norway, and had made the king aware of the real state of the case, upon which Haco dispatched him to the Sudereys with another fleet. When he had reached the Sound of Isla, he found the brothers, king Uspac, Dugall, and Duncan, already there, together with their relation, Somerled, who had taken refuge in the Isles from the power of the king of Scotland. These chiefs, alarmed at the force of the Norwegians, attempted to overcome them by stratagem, and for this purpose "invited them to an entertainment, and provided strong wines," not an uncommon stratagem among the Highlanders. But the Norwegians had suspicion of their good faith, and refused to go, whereupon each of the commanders proceeded to draw their forces together, and in the night the Norwegians made an unexpected attack upon the Sudereyans, in which they succeeded, having slain Somerled, and taken Dugall prisoner, while the other two brothers effected their escape. Uspac, upon this judged it prudent to submit himself to the Norwegians, and afterwards joined them in their expedition to Bute, where he met his death in an attack upon a fortress in that island.¹ Duncan was now the only one of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys, but of his farther history nothing is known except the foundation of the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. On his death, his son Ewen succeeded to the whole power and territories of this branch of the descendants of Somerled; and he appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian king than his predecessors had been, for when Alexander II., king of Scotland, had determined upon making every effort to obtain possession of the Western Isles, A.D. 1249. and, deeming it of the greatest consequence to win Ewen to his interest, had besought him to give up Kerneburgh, and other three castles, together with the lands which he held of king Haco, to the king of Scotland, adding, that if Ewen would join him in earnest, he would reward him with many

¹ This account is taken from the *Anecdotes of Olave the Black*.

greater estates in Scotland, together with his confidence and favour, and although all Ewen's relations and friends pressed him to comply, he declared that he would not break his oath to king Haco, and refused all offers of compromise.

Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray, in the commencement of an attack upon the Isles, and his son, Alexander III., when he had attained majority, determined to renew the attempt to obtain possession of the Isles, which his father had commenced. But instead of proceeding in person to the execution of this enterprise, he excited the Earl of Ross, at that time the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and whose great possessions extended over the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them, and this Earl accordingly, accompanied by the chief of the Mathiesons and other powerful dependents, suddenly crossed over to the Isle of Sky, where he ravaged the country, burned villages and churches, and killed great numbers both of men and women. Upon this, the Sudereyan kings immediately dispatched letters to Haco, complaining of the outrages committed, and acquainting him that it was but part of a plan by which the Scottish king purposed to subdue all the Sudereys, if life was granted to him.

Haco was no sooner aware of the extent of the danger to which his insular dominion was exposed, than he determined to proceed in person to the Hebrides, with all the troops which his means could supply. Upon Haco's appearance, he was at once joined by most of the Highland chiefs, among whom was king Dugall, son of Ronald, the son of Reginald Mac Somerled, and upon his arrival at Gigha, he was met by king Ewen. Haco desired that Ewen should follow his banner, but the politics of that prince had changed in a most unaccountable manner, for he excused himself, and said that he had sworn an oath to the Scottish king, and that he had more lands of him than of the Norwegian monarch, and therefore he entreated king Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred upon him. The unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition, eventually justified the sagacity at least of Ewen's change, but Haco did not find the other Sudereyan lords so keen sighted or so scrupulous in breaking their oaths as Ewen appeared to be, for he was not only shortly afterwards joined by Angus, Lord of

Isla and South Kintyre, but even by Murchard, a vassal of the Earl of Menteith, in North Kintyre, who had obtained this district from the baron to whom it had been granted by Alexander II. The result of this enterprise is well known to everyone, and the defeat of the Norwegians by the Scots at

A.D. 1266. Largs, produced a treaty by which the Isles were

finally ceded to the Scottish king.¹ In consequence of Ewen's timely change, this event rather increased than diminished his power, but the ill-luck of the Macdonalds, which invariably prevented the concentration of their power in the hands of one family for any length of time, had commenced to display itself, for Ewen died without male issue, and left but two daughters, the eldest of whom had married the Norwegian king of Man, and the second, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

The failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen had now the effect, in consequence of the well-devised treatment of the conquered district of Argyll by Alexander II., and subsequent annexation of the Isles to Scotland by his successor, of dividing this great clan into three, the heads of each of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Rory, clan Donald, and clan Dugall, severally descended from three sons of these names, of Reginald, the second son of Somerled by his second marriage.²

Clan Rory.

On the death of Somerled, although the superiority of Argyll and the Isles fell respectively to his grandson Somerled, and his son Dugall, yet according to the Highland law of gavel, the property of which he died possessed was divided among all his sons, and the portion which fell to Reginald appears to have consisted of Islay among the isles, and Kintyre and part of Lorn on the mainland.

Of the events of Reginald's life little is known, and even that little is not free from uncertainty, for, as he was contemporary

¹ Norse account of Haco's expedition. Clan Rory, Clan Donald, and Clan

² "Ranald, from whom sprung the Dugall."—MS. of 1450.

with Reginald, the Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between the acts of the two princes.

Reginald, however, appears on the death of his brother Dugall, to have been designated "*dominus insularum*," and sometimes even "*rex insularum*," and "*dominus de Ergile and Kintyre*," under which title he grants certain lands to the abbey of Saddell, in Kintyre, which he had founded.

These titles, however, did not descend to his children, and he was succeeded in his paternal inheritance by his eldest son, Roderic, who, on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., considerably increased his powers by agreeing to hold his lands of the king as crown vassal; and after this period he is generally styled *Dominus de Kintyre*. Roderic appears to have adopted the Norwegian habits of piracy in their fullest extent, and to have become, in everything but his birth, one of that race. He was one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the time are full of the plundering expeditions which he made. In these habits he was not followed by his sons Dugall and Allan. Dugall ruled over his Gaelic possessions in the usual manner of a Celtic chief, and when Ewen had at length agreed, in 1249, to desert the Norwegian interest for that of Scotland, bore the Norwegian title of king of the Isles until his death.

On Haco's expedition to the Western Isles, king Dugall acquired great accession to his territories. Few of the Island chiefs had afforded so much assistance to Haco, or taken such an active part in his expedition as Dugall, and Haco therefore bestowed upon him all those parts of Ewen of Lorn's territories which had fallen into his hands. King Dugall appears to have died without descendants, and his brother Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the Siol Cuinn. On the cession of the Isles, Allan, along with the other Hebridean chiefs, transferred their allegiance to Alexander III. of Scotland; for his name is found among the barons in the list of those who assembled at Scoon in 1284, to declare Margaret, the maid of Norway, heiress to the crown; and on that occasion he is designed "*Allangus, filius Roderici*." On this occasion, when Alexander appears to have been willing to purchase the

support of his nobles to the settlement of the crown on his daughter at any price, the adherence of Allan was obtained by a grant of a great part of the ancient earldom of Garmoran, which remained ever afterwards in this family, and was now known as the lordship of Garmoran. Allan left one son, Roderic, of whose history little is known, but it would appear that he was not considered legitimate by the feudal law, for we find that Allan was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina, although, the Highland law, by which Roderic was unquestionably considered legitimate, had still so much influence as in some measure to compel Christina to legalise Roderic's possession of these lands by a formal resignation and regrant. Roderic afterwards incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, probably from some connexion with the Spulis conspiracy of 1320. But his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Roderic had but one son, Ranald, and one daughter, Amie, married to John, lord of the Isles. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive territories, for holding some lands in North Argyll, of the Earl of Ross, his proximity of situation gave rise to a bitter feud between these powerful chiefs. David II. having in 1346 summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald made his appearance there with a considerable body of troops, and took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho. William, Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, took this opportunity of revenging himself upon Ranald, and having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald with seven of his followers. By the death of Ranald, the descendants of Roderic became extinct, and John of the Isles, the chief of the clan Donald, who had married his sister Amy, became entitled to the succession, to which he immediately laid claim.

CHAPTER III.

THE GALLGAEL—(*continued*).*Clan Donald.*

THE clan Donald derive their origin from Donald II., son of Reginald. The share of his father's possessions which fell to him appears to have been South Kintyre and Isla, but it is unquestionable that he held these possessions of his brother Roderic, as the head of the house. As the clan Donald were at this time under the sway of the Norwegians, but little is known of their history until the cession of the Isles in 1266. Donald is said by a Highland Sennachie to have gone to Rome for the purpose of obtaining remission for various atrocities of his former life, which he is reported to have obtained with little difficulty, and to have evinced his gratitude by granting lands to the monastery of Saddell, and other ecclesiastical establishments in Scotland. It was during the life of Angus Moir, his son and successor, that the expedition of Haco to the Western Isles took place, and although Angus joined him immediately on his arrival with his fleet, and assisted him during the whole war, yet, in consequence of the treaty which afterwards took place between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered either in his territories or in his power. He appeared at the convention in 1284, when the maiden of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, when his support appears to have been purchased by a grant of Ardnamurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran; and also confirmed his father's and grandfather's grants to the abbey of Saddell, granting additional lands to them himself by not fewer than four charters. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og. Alexander acquired a considerable addition to his territories by marriage with one of the daughters and co-

heireses of Ewen de Ergadia, the last of the male descendants of Dugall, the son of Somerled; but he unfortunately joined John, the lord of Lorn, in his opposition to the accession of Robert the Bruce, and in consequence became a sharer in the ruin of that great chief. After the defeat of the lord of Lorn at Lochow, and the subsequent siege of Dunstaffnage, king Robert proceeded to crush Alexander of the Isles also. And for this purpose he crossed over the Isthmus of Tarbet and besieged Alexander in Castle Swen, his usual residence. The lord of the Isles was as little able to hold out against the power of the Bruce as the lord of Lorn had been, and he was accordingly obliged to surrender to the king, who immediately imprisoned him in Dundonald Castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited and given to his brother Angus Og, who, fortunately for himself and for his clan, had adopted a different line of politics, having followed the party of the Bruce from the very beginning.

After the disastrous defeat at Methven, and the subsequent skirmish of the lord of Lorn at Tyndrum, where the Bruce was obliged to fly, he was received by Angus in his castle of Dunaverty, and there protected until he was obliged to take refuge in the small island of Rachlin. From this period Angus attached himself to his party, and took a share in all his subsequent enterprises. He assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when "the Bruce wan his father's hall," and was also present at the battle of Bannockburn, where Bruce at length reaped the reward of all his former toils and dangers, on which occasion Angus with his clan seem to have formed the reserve.

"Ye ferd bataile ye noble king
 Tuk till his awne governyng,
 And had in till his company
 Ye men of Carrik halely,
And off Arghile, and of Kentyre,
And off ye Isles, quharof wes syr
Angus of Isle, and but all ya,
 He of ye plane land had alsua
 Off armyt men a mekyl rout,
 His bataile stalwart wes and stout."¹

¹ Barbour.

As Angus had shared in Bruce's dangers and adversity, so he now reaped the advantage of his success. The extensive territories of the Comyns, and their allies, the lords of Lorn, had fallen into his hands through their forfeiture, and he accordingly bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had formerly belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durroure and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Tiree, &c., which had formed part of the possessions of the Lorn family. Bruce, however, was quite aware that in thus increasing the already extensive possessions of the Isles' family, he was raising up a powerful opponent to the crown; but the services of Angus in his utmost need rendered it impossible for him to withhold these grants, and believing himself secure of Angus's attachment during his life, he endeavoured to neutralize the effects of such an addition to their power by building the castle of Tarbett in Kintyre, which he demanded permission to do as an equivalent for the grants of land he had made. Angus Og of the Isles died in the early part of the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John, his successor, and John Og, ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Although Angus had throughout his life been a steady friend to the crown, yet when, on his death, any influence, which personal attachment between the king and him might have occasioned had ceased, the causes which had formerly forced this clan into opposition to the crown, again operated to change the policy of the lords of the Isles, or rather to cause them to resume their former line of conduct. These natural causes of separation were heightened by a dispute between John and the Regent, with regard to some of the lands which had been granted by the Bruce; and John had not been long in possession of the power and dignities of his ancestors before he joined the party of Edward Baliol and the English king. In consequence of this, a formal treaty was concluded between Edward Baliol and John on the 12th of December, 1335, in which Baliol, "*quantum in se est*," yielded for ever to John and his heirs and assignees, together with the whole of his father's possessions, all title to the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Murray (the Regent), and also gave him the wardship of Lochaber until the majority of the heir of Atholl, at

that time only three years old, by whose ancestors it had been forfeited on the accession of Robert Bruce. This indenture was confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th of October, 1336.

The accession to Baliol's party of so great a man as John of the Isles did not, however, prevent the recovery of Scotland, for the regents succeeded eventually in entirely freeing the country from English dominion, and were enabled in 1341 to send for David II. from France to commence his personal reign over his native kingdom, although the lord of the Isles himself was too powerful to suffer by that revolution. On the return of David II. to his country, he found it of the utmost importance to attach as many of the Scottish barons to his party as possible, and succeeded in concluding a treaty with John of the Isles, who now for the first time found himself not in opposition to the king. But a circumstance soon after occurred very much to increase John's power, and to concentrate in his person nearly the whole of the possessions of his ancestor, Somerled. This circumstance was the slaughter of Ranald of the Isles by the earl of Ross at Perth in the year 1346, by which John of the Isles, who had married his sister Amy, became entitled to the succession, to which he immediately laid claim. Although John was not at this time in opposition to David II., yet the government, notwithstanding the advantage it would derive from the support of so powerful an Highland chief as the Island lord, was well aware of the danger of thus allowing the extensive territories and great power of the Siol Cuinn, which had shaken the stability of the crown under Somerled, to become again united in the person of John, and it was determined to throw every obstacle in his way. John's request was consequently refused, and the government seems to have taken advantage of the death of Amy as an excuse for refusing a title to their lands; and even to have asserted that the marriage upon which it was founded had been irregular, and could not therefore be recognized.

The natural effect of this refusal was to throw John once more into opposition, and to regain for the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, but the attention of the king of England having been soon after diverted from Scotland by the wars in France, and a peace having in consequence

been entered into between England and Scotland, John's opposition did not produce any consequences detrimental to the government.

It was not long after this time that a very extraordinary change took place in the character and situation of the different factions in Scotland, which once more served to detach John of the Isles from the English interest, and to class him among the supporters of Scottish independence. Previously to the return of David II. from captivity in England in 1357, the established government and the principal barons of the kingdom had, with the exception of those periods when Edward Baliol had gained a temporary success, been invariably hostile to the English claims, while it was merely a faction of the nobility, who were in opposition to the court, that supported the cause of Baliol and of English supremacy. John, from the natural causes arising from his situation, and urged by the continued policy of the government being directed towards the reduction of his power and influence, was always forced into opposition to the administration for the time by which this policy was followed, and when the opposing faction consisted of the adherents of the English interest, the Island lord was naturally found among them, and was thus induced to enter into treaty with the king of England. On the return of David, however, the situation of parties became materially altered; the king of Scotland now ranked as Edward of England's staunchest adherent, and secretly seconded all his endeavours to overturn the independence of Scotland, while the party which had throughout supported the throne of Scotland and the cause of independence were in consequence thrown into active opposition to the crown. The natural consequence of this change was that the lord of the Isles left the party to which he had so long adhered, as soon as it became identified with the royal faction, and was thus forced into connexion with those with whom he had been for so many years at enmity.

The Steward of Scotland, who was at the head of this party, was of course desirous of strengthening himself by means of alliances with the most powerful barons of the country, and he therefore received the accession of so important a person with avidity, and cemented their union by procuring the

marriage of the lord of the Isles with his own daughter. John now adhered steadfastly to the party of the steward, and took an active share in all its proceedings, along with the other barons by whom they were joined, but without any open manifestation of force, until the year 1366, when the country was in a state of irritation from the heavy burdens imposed upon the people in order to raise the ransom of their king, and when the jealousy of David towards the steward had at length broken out so far as to cause the former to throw his own nephew and the acknowledged successor to his throne into prison. The northern barons, who belonged to his party, broke out into open rebellion, and refused to pay their proportion of the general taxation, or attend the parliament, to which they were frequently summoned. Matters appear to have remained in this state, and the northern chiefs to have actually assumed independence for upwards of two years, until David had at last brought himself to apply to the steward as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and charged him to put down the rebellion.

In consequence of this appeal, the steward, who was unwilling to be considered as the disturber of the peace of the kingdom, and whose ends were better forwarded by steady opposition to the court party than by open rebellion, took every means in his power to reduce the insurgent noblemen to obedience; but although he succeeded in obtaining the submission of John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell, and although the earls of Mar and Ross with other northern barons, whose object was gained by the restoration of the steward to freedom, voluntarily joined him in his endeavours, the lord of the Isles refused to submit, and secure in the distance, and in the inaccessible nature of his territories, set the royal power at defiance. But the state of affairs in France soon after requiring the undivided attention of the English king, he was obliged to come to terms with the Scots, and a peace having been concluded between the two countries on the most favourable terms for the latter, the Scottish government was left at liberty to turn its attention wholly towards reducing the Isles to obedience. In order to accomplish this, David II., well aware of the cause of the rebellion of the Isles, and of the

danger of permitting matters to remain in their present position, at length determined, and that with a degree of energy which his character had given little reason to expect, in person to proceed against the rebels, and for this purpose commanded the attendance of the steward with the barons of the realm. But the steward, now perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion of the Isles would prove fatal to his party, by the great influence which he possessed over his son-in-law, succeeded in persuading him to meet the king at Inverness and to submit himself to his authority, and the result of this meeting was a treaty entered into between "*Johannes de Yla, dominus insularum*" on the one hand, and "*David, Dei gratia rex Scotorum*" on the other, in which John not only engaged to submit to the royal authority and to take his share of all public burdens, but also to put down all others who dared to raise themselves in opposition to the regal authority. For the fulfilment of this obligation the lord of the Isles not only gave his own oath, but offered the high steward, his father-in-law, as security, and delivered his lawful son Donald by the steward's daughter, his grandson Angus by his eldest lawful son John, and a natural son also named Donald, into the hands of the king as hostages.

By the accession of Robert Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place shortly after this event, the lord of the Isles was once more brought into close connexion with the crown, and as John remained during the whole of this reign in a state of as great tranquillity as his father Angus had been during that of Robert Bruce, the policy of thus connecting these turbulent chiefs with the government by the ties of friendship and alliance, rather than that of attempting to reduce them to obedience by force and forfeiture, became very manifest. King Robert, no doubt, saw clearly enough the advantage of following the advice left by Robert Bruce for the guidance of his successors, not to allow the great territories and extensive influence of these Island lords ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; but the claims of John were too great to be overlooked, and accordingly Robert had been but one year on the throne, when John obtained from him a feudal title to all those lands which

had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and which had so long been refused to him.

In order, however, to neutralize in some degree the effect of thus investing one individual with a feudal title to such extensive territories, and believing himself secure of the attachment of John during his lifetime, king Robert determined, since he could not prevent the accumulation in one family of so much property, at least by bringing about its division among its different branches, to sow the seeds of future discord, and eventually perhaps of the ruin of the race. He found little difficulty in persuading John, in addition to the usual practice in that family of gavelling the lands among the numerous offspring, to render the children of the two marriages *feudally* independent of each other, a fatal measure, the consequences of which John did not apparently foresee; and accordingly, in the third year of his reign, king Robert confirmed a charter by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, of the lands of Garmoran, which John had acquired by his marriage with Reginald's mother, to be held of John's heirs, that is to say, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, of whom one had been given as an hostage in 1369, and who would of course succeed to every part of John's possessions which were not feudally destined to other quarters. Some years afterwards John resigned a great part of the western portion of his territories, consisting principally of the lands of Lochaber, Kintyre, and Knapdale, with the island of Colonsay, into the king's hands, and received from him charters of these lands in favour of himself and his heirs by the marriage with the king's daughter; thus rendering the children of the second marriage feudally independent of those of the first, and furnishing a subject for contention between these families which could not fail to lead to their ruin.

After this period, we know little of the events of John's life, and he appears to have died about the year 1386. During the rest of Robert the Second's reign, and of the greater part of that of Robert III., the peace of the country does not appear to have been disturbed by any act of hostility from the Island chiefs, and consequently the history of the children of John is but little known; but when the dissension which took place between the

principal barons of Scotland, in consequence of the marriage of the duke of Rothsay, and the consequent departure of the earl of March to the English court, caused the wars between the two countries once more to break out, and called forth the English invasion of Scotland, the intercourse between England and the Island chiefs appears to have been renewed, and the frequency of the safe conducts granted at this period by the king of England to the sons of John, shews that their relationship to the Scottish king was not sufficient to counteract the causes which naturally threw them into opposition. From the tenor of these documents, it does not appear that at this time there was any difference of rank or authority observed among the brothers. By the wise policy of Robert II. this great clan had become completely divided for the time into two, who were in every respect independent of each other. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, possessed the principal power on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber, which he transmitted to his son; and Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable extent of territory of the crown, which was now first known as the feudal lordship of the Isles, and which, though not superior to, was independent of the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber. The rest of the brethren received the usual provision allotted to them by the law of gavel, and which was principally held by them as vassals of one or other of the two lords. But a circumstance soon after occurred which had the effect of raising one of the brothers to a station of power which he could not otherwise have attained, and of adding to the already too extensive possessions of the Macdonalds. This circumstance was the marriage of Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage of John, lord of the Isles, with Mary, sister of Alexander, earl of Ross. Alexander, earl of Ross, had an only daughter, Euphemia, by the daughter of the duke of Albany, whom he had married. Upon the death of Alexander, Euphemia became a nun, and committed the government of her earldom to the governor. Donald saw that if the governor was permitted in this manner to retain the actual possession of the earldom, although his right to the succession was undeniable, he would be unable to recover his inheritance from the grasp of so crafty and ambitious a nobleman. He accordingly proceeded to

exert himself to obtain possession of the earldom, contending that Euphemia, by taking the veil, had become, in a legal point of view, dead ; and that the earldom belonged to him in right of his wife, and accordingly he demanded to be put in possession of it. This demand was of course repelled by the governor, whose principal object appears to have been to prevent the accession of so extensive a district to the territories of the lord of the Isles, already too powerful for the security of the government, and whose conduct was more actuated by principles of expediency than of justice. Donald had no sooner received this unfavourable answer to his demand, than he determined to assert his claim by arms, since he could not obtain it from the justice of the government. And in consequence of this determination, he raised all the forces which he could command, to the amount of ten thousand men, with whom he suddenly invaded the earldom of Ross. From the inhabitants of Ross he appears to have met with no resistance, so that he speedily obtained possession of the district ; but on his arrival at Dingwall, he was encountered by Angus Dow Mackay, at the head of a large body of men from Sutherland, and, after a fierce attack, the Mackays were completely routed, and their leader taken prisoner.

Donald was now in complete possession of the earldom, but his subsequent proceedings shewed that the nominal object of his expedition was but a cover to ulterior designs, for, leaving the district of Ross, he swept through Moray, and penetrated even into Aberdeenshire, at the head of his whole army. Here he was met at the village of Harlaw by the earl of Mar, at the head of an inferior army in point of numbers, but composed of Lowland gentlemen, who were better armed and disciplined than the Highland followers of Donald. It was on the 24th of July, 1411, that the celebrated battle of Harlaw was fought, upon the issue of which seemed to depend the question of whether the Gaelic or Teutonic part of the population of Scotland were in future to have the supremacy.

Of the battle the result was doubtful, as both parties claimed the victory ; but in the case of the Highlanders, the absence of decided victory was equivalent to defeat in its effects, and Donald was in consequence obliged to retreat. The check

which had been given to the Highland army was immediately followed up by the duke of Albany collecting additional forces, and marching in person to Dingwall. But Donald avoided hazarding another encounter, and returned with his forces to the Isles, where he remained all winter, while Albany rapidly made himself master of the earldom of Ross.

In the ensuing summer the war was again renewed, and carried on with various success on both sides, until at length the Island king was obliged to come to terms with the governor, and a treaty was concluded at Polgilp, in Argyllshire, in which Donald agreed to give up his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the Scottish crown.

It has generally been supposed that the resignation of the earldom of Ross by Euphame, the Nun, in favour of her grandfather, was the sole cause of this invasion; but this is impossible, for the instrument by which the earldom was resigned is dated in 1415, just four years after the battle, and it seems rather to have been an attempt on the part of Albany to give a colour of justice to the retention of the earldom, which he was enabled, by the result of the battle, to carry into effect. There is no doubt that a claim on the earldom was the ostensible cause of the invasion; but the readiness with which that claim was given up when his subsequent inroad upon the Lowlands was checked—and he might easily have retained possession of Ross, instead of retreating to the Isles; besides, the fact that in the year 1408 there was a treaty between Donald and the king of England, and that the war was no sooner at an end than a truce was concluded with England for six years—very clearly indicate that this invasion was but a part of a much more extensive and more important scheme for which the claim of the earldom served but as a pretext; and that upon the failure of the greater plan, that claim was readily resigned.

During the rest of the regency of Albany, Donald did not again disturb the peace of the kingdom; and on the utter ruin of the Albany family, accomplished by the revenge of James I., Alexander, lord of the Isles, the son of Donald, quietly succeeded to the earldom of Ross. Unfortunately for himself, however, his succession to such extensive territories, and the acquisition of so much power, took place at a time

when the individual who held the reins of government was one fully able, by his singular energy, decision of character, and personal bravery, to compete with his turbulent nobles, as well as to break down their independence and power. Towards this object James I. seems to have turned his attention at the very commencement of his reign, and, doubtful of his strength effectually to reduce the northern barons to obedience, he had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he summoned these barons to attend a parliament to be held at Inverness, and proceeded there himself at the head of his principal nobles, and accompanied by a force which rendered resistance unavailing; and the great northern chiefs not thinking it proper to disobey the summons, were arrested as soon as they made their appearance, to the number of about forty chiefs, among whom was Alexander, earl of Ross and lord of the Isles, his mother the countess of Ross, and Alexander Mac Godfrey of Garmoran, who appeared as feudal lord of that district.

Many of these victims of this act of treachery were forthwith executed, among whom was Alexander of Garmoran, whose whole possessions were in consequence forfeited to the crown, while the rest, together with the lord of the Isles, were detained in captivity. By the success of this expedient, the king concluded that he had effectually reduced the Highland chiefs to obedience, and accordingly, after a short captivity, he set Alexander of the Isles at liberty; but the prospect of submission was only apparent; for no sooner was the lord of the Isles free, than he flew to arms to obtain revenge for the injurious treatment he had experienced, and appeared soon after before Inverness with an army of 10,000 men, and rased to the ground the town which had been the scene of his surprise.

But James, from the great decision and activity of his character, was fully equal to cope with the Island lord, whose ancestors had been the terror of preceding governments; and accordingly he no sooner became aware of this invasion, than, with an energy for which his adversary was little prepared, he collected a feudal force, penetrated into Lochaber with the utmost rapidity, and overtook the Highland army before

they had been able to reach the shelter of the Isles. So completely were the Highlanders surprised by this bold march, that the lord of the Isles found himself deserted before the battle by the clans Chattan and Cameron, who, doubtful of the issue of an encounter, and feeling no great cordiality for the cause of the earl of Ross, went over to the royal army. The lord of the Isles, however, did not shun the attack, but, as might be expected from the dispiriting effect of so great a desertion, the result was the complete rout and dispersion of the Highland army; and so close did the pursuit of the Island lord at length become, that he found it impossible to conceal himself, and after several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a reconciliation with the king, he resolved to throw himself upon the royal mercy, and to descend to the most extraordinary piece of humiliation which is recorded in history. It was upon the occasion of a solemn festival held in the chapel of Holyrood that this proud chief, whose father and grandfather had entered into treaties and concluded peace as independent princes, appeared before the assembled Scottish court, divested of all his garments save his shirt and drawers alone, and holding a naked sword in his hand, knelt down at the feet of the monarch, and implored his clemency. In some degree his supplication was successful, for James granted him his life, but directed him to be instantly imprisoned in Tantallon Castle.

James, however, had yet to learn that, from the peculiar nature of the system of clanship, the imprisonment of their chief did not in any way affect the strength of the clan, or render them more amenable to the royal authority. On the contrary, he was now to find that such a proceeding was more likely to incite them to revenge. And accordingly Alexander of the Isles had been only two years in captivity, when the inhabitants of the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection, and burst into Lochaber under the command of Donald Balloch, the son of his uncle Reginald, and chief of the clan Ranald. They there encountered an army which had been left in Lochaber for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, under the command of the earls of Mar and Caithness, and after an obstinate conflict, the king's troops were completely defeated, the earl of Caithness left dead upon the field, while

the remainder were rescued with some difficulty by the earl of Mar. Donald Balloch, however, considered it hazardous to follow up his success, and having ravaged the neighbouring districts, he retired to the Isles, and subsequently to Ireland, to avoid the vengeance of so powerful an adversary as the king of Scotland.

James now saw that the absence of the chief, so far from rendering the clan more disposed to become amenable to his will, rather roused them to acts of rebellion and revenge, and that it was better to have at the head of the clan, a chief who had become bound to him from acts of clemency, than to expose them to the influence of the other branches of the family, who were irritated by the indignity offered to the Island lord; he therefore proceeded in person to the north, for the purpose of quelling the remains of the rebellion: his expedition was attended with his usual success, by the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in it. Donald Balloch was, soon after this, betrayed, and his head sent to the king, upon which he at once restored the lord of the Isles to liberty, granted him a free pardon for all the various acts of rebellion he had been guilty of, and also confirmed to him not only all his titles and possessions, but even granted him the lordship of Lochaber, which had been forfeited from his cousin Alexander, and given to the earl of Mar. The policy of this act was soon apparent, for although Alexander of the Isles was naturally thrown into opposition to the court, and entered into a strict league with the earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition, yet it does not appear that the peace of the country was again disturbed during his life. But on his death, the parties engaged in the league, which, although strictly preserved, had not hitherto led to any manifestations of actual insurrection, at length broke out into open rebellion, and the new lord of the Isles, who was as active an opposer of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven, in Badenoch, and declared himself independent.

In this state of open rebellion, John, lord of the Isles, was secretly supported by the earl of Douglas, and openly

by the other barons who belonged to their party; but a circumstance soon after occurred, which, together with the murder of Douglas, and defeat of Crawford, by Huntly, not only reduced John, after having for several years maintained a species of independence, to submit to the king, and resign his lands into his hands, but moreover proved the cause of the subsequent ruin of the kingdom of the Isles, which had so long existed in a condition of partial independence. This circumstance was a rebellion in the Isles, against John, by his son Angus Og, and John was thus doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had so long offered to the king.

With regard to the actual circumstances which gave rise to this extraordinary contest, there is considerable obscurity, but the causes are thus stated by an ancient Sennachie of the clan Donald:—"John succeeded his father, a meek, modest man, brought up at court in his younger years, and a scholar more fit to be a churchman, than to command so many irregular tribes of people. He endeavoured, however, still to keep them in their allegiance, by bestowing gifts on some, and promoting others with lands and possessions; by this he became prodigal, and very expensive. He had a natural son, begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the earl of Angus's daughter. He gave the lands of Morvairn to Maclean, and many of his lands in the north to others, judging, by these means, to make them more faithful to him than they were to his father. His son, Angus Og, being a bold, forward man, and high minded, observing that his father very much diminished his rents by his prodigality, thought to deprive him of all management and authority." But, whatever was the cause of this dissension, it appears that Angus Og, who had been appointed by his father lieutenant general in all his possessions, and who had been the actual mover in all these insurrections, took advantage of his station to deprive his father of all authority whatever, and to become lord of the Isles, and Angus Og was no sooner in a situation of power than he determined to be revenged upon the earl of Atholl, for the hostility which he had invariably manifested against the lord of the Isles, and at the

same time to declare himself independent; for this purpose, having collected a numerous army in the Isles, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who believed him faithful, he immediately proclaimed himself king of the Hebrides. He then invaded the district of Atholl, and arriving unexpectedly at Blair, he stormed the castle, seized the earl and countess of Atholl, and carried them prisoners to Isla, where he confined them. But the workings of superstition effected that which it would have been found perhaps difficult by any other means to obtain, for a storm of thunder and lightning having sunk the greater part of his galleys on his return to the Isles with the rich booty he had obtained, it was ascribed to the wrath of heaven, in consequence of his having plundered and attempted to burn the chapel of St. Bridget, in Atholl; and in order therefore to expiate the crime for which he now began to feel remorse, he set the earl and countess at liberty, and performed penance on the scene of his sacrilege.

Angus Og next induced his father to enter into a treaty with the king of England and the earl of Douglas, which had for its object no less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition among the contracting parties. This remarkable treaty is dated at London, on the 13th of February, 1462, and by it the lord of the Isles agreed, upon payment of a stipulated sum of money to himself, his son, and his ally, Donald Balloch of Isla, to become the sworn vassal for ever of England, and that along with the whole body of his subjects, and to assist him in the wars in Ireland as well as elsewhere. But in addition to this, it was provided that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the earls of Ross and Douglas, the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Scottish Sea, or Firth of Forth, was to be divided equally between Douglas, the lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch, while Douglas was to be restored to the possession of those estates between the Scottish Sea and the borders of England, from which he was now excluded. No step, however, appears to have been taken upon this extraordinary treaty, until the year 1473, at which period the lord of the Isles appears to have been in open rebellion, and to have continued so for several years. But Angus Og does not appear

to have been supported in this insurrection by the other parties who had joined in the league with him, which occasioned his reduction to become a matter of less difficulty to the government.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the year 1475, in which this fierce and insurgent noble was declared a traitor, and his estates confiscated to the crown ; and, in order to carry this forfeiture into effect, the earls of Crawford and Atholl were directed to proceed against him with a large force. The extent of these preparations, which comprehended a formidable fleet, as well as a land army, now convinced the earl of Ross that the proceedings of his rebellious son, which had already deprived him of all authority, were likely also to cause the utter ruin and destruction of his race, and he determined to make one effort to regain his station, and to preserve the possessions of his ancestors. The only means now left for him to effect this was, to obtain the assistance of the government, a matter by no means easy, in consequence of the rebellion into which he had been dragged by his son, and which had resulted in his forfeiture. He was therefore obliged to submit to the necessary sacrifice, and by means of a grant of lands in Knapdale, he obtained the powerful influence of the earl of Argyll, and in consequence, upon resigning his whole possessions into the hands of the crown, he received a remission for his past offences, and was reinstated in the royal favour, and in his former possessions, with the exception of the earldom of Ross, lands of Knapdale and Kintyre, and offices of sheriff of Inverness and Nairne, which were retained by the crown, while he himself was created a peer of parliament by the title of lord of the Isles.

Soon after this, the earl of Atholl was despatched to the north, for the purpose of reinstating the earl of Ross in his possessions ; and on entering the earldom, he was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, Rosses, and others, but being met by Angus Og, who had hastened there at the head of the clan, at a place called Lagebread, the earl of Atholl was defeated with great slaughter, and with some difficulty made his escape. The earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent, the one by sea, the other by land ; but both expeditions were attended with

equally bad success. The third expedition consisted of Argyll and Atholl, who were accompanied by the lord of the Isles, and on this occasion Argyll found means to persuade several of the families of the Isles to join their party. An interview then took place between the contending parties, which did not produce any result, and the two earls, who do not appear to have had any great cordiality towards the object of their expedition, returned. John, however, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneils, and others, and encountered Angus Og in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan. A naval engagement immediately took place between the father and son and their respective followers, which ended in the complete overthrow of the unfortunate father, and the dispersion of his fleet. By this victory, which will long be remembered in the traditions of the country as the "Battle of the Bloody Bay," Angus became completely established in the possession of the power and extensive territories of his clan. John appears not long after this to have become reconciled to his son, who easily regained the entire ascendancy over him which he had formerly possessed; and, accordingly, it was but five years after the date of his submission that we once more find him throwing off his allegiance to the throne, and engaging in a treaty with Edward IV., king of England, who was then preparing to invade Scotland; and from this period, during the remainder of the reign of James III., the Isles appear to have continued in a state of open resistance to the authority of the government. But the accession of James IV. in 1494, made a material change in this respect, for that energetic monarch, who in many points of view bore a strong resemblance to his ancestor the first James, took the most decided and severe measures for reducing the country to a state of peace, while the recent death of Angus Og left John in no condition to defend himself from the consequences of the rebellion into which he had been led. In these measures James was accordingly successful; it was in the sixth year of his reign that he turned his attention particularly to the state of the Highlands and Isles; and during that year, he visited them personally three times, besides having twice, in the preceding year, penetrated into the Highlands as far as Dunstaffnage and

Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, and reduced most of the Highland chiefs to obedience.

The lord of the Isles, nevertheless, still refused to submit, and defied the royal authority. James found himself unable successfully to attack him in his strongholds, but on his return to Edinburgh, he assembled a parliament, in which the title and possessions of the lord of the Isles were declared forfeited to the crown.

Not long after this, John of the Isles appears to have died; and as his grandson, Donald Du, was still a minor, and the other branches of the family were engaged in various dissensions among each other, there was no one at once to resume the government of the clan, and to offer effectual resistance to the king. The forfeiture and death of John had the effect of completely disorganizing the clan; while all those clans which had been dependent upon the lords of the Isles, although not connected by descent, having attained to considerable power under their protection, seized this opportunity, with one accord, of declaring themselves independent of the Macdonalds, and set about procuring from the king feudal titles to their respective lands.

There was no longer, therefore, any prospect of the Macdonalds again obtaining the almost royal state which they had so long enjoyed, and from this period may accordingly be dated the fall of that once powerful clan; although, before the Macdonalds finally resigned the contest, they appear to have made three several attempts to place various of their branches at the head of the whole tribe; but these attempts proved equally unsuccessful, partly from the prompt measures adopted by government, but principally from the effects of their own internal dissensions, as well as from the great opposition they received from those clans formerly dependent on the Macdonalds, but whose interest it had now become to prevent the union of the tribe under one head as formerly. The first of these attempts took place shortly after the death of John of the Isles, and was made in favour of Donald Du, his grandson by his son, Angus Og. The principal parties engaged in this attempt were Alaster Macdonald, of Lochalsh, the son of Celestin, who was a brother of John, lord of the Isles, Torquil

Macleod of Lewis, and Lauchlan Maclane of Doward. To Maclane was intrusted the person of Donald Du, and the task of keeping possession of the Isles, while Alaster proceeded with the greater part of the clan to Ross, with a view to recover possession of that earldom. Here he was not prepared to meet with opposition, but Mackenzie, being well aware that the loss of his newly acquired independence would follow Alaster's success, and although far inferior in strength, resolved to make a desperate effort, in which he succeeded ; for, having surprised the Macdonalds in the night time, at the village of Blairnapark, he dispersed them with great slaughter. Alaster upon this returned to the Isles, but the dissension among the islanders soon put a finishing stroke to the defeat of this first attempt. The principal families of the Isles who were opposed to the succession of Donald Du, were those of Macian of Ardnarmurchan, and Macconnel of Kintyre, who were apprehensive that their own houses would suffer by the success of the rebellion. They had not, however, dared to oppose it, when fortune at first seemed to favour the enterprise ; but when, after Alaster's defeat in Ross, he returned to the Isles, to raise men, they followed his vessel to Oransay, where they overtook him, and put him to death. Maclane with his party had, in the meantime, though at first more successful, been reduced to submission by the efforts of the government. Having found little difficulty in making himself master of the Isles, he had, with the other Island chiefs, burst into Badenoch, at the head of a considerable force, wasting the country in every direction ; and even set fire to the town of Inverness. An army, at the head of which were the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, and Marshall, with Lord Lovat, and other barons was led against him, but, with the usual Highland policy, he had retreated to the Isles with his plunder. James then found it necessary to dispatch a fleet under the command of Sir Andrew Wood, the most celebrated naval commander of his day, to the Isles, to co-operate with the land army, and the result of this expedition shewed that the Island chiefs had hitherto owed their immunity to the inefficient state of the Scottish navy ; and that the extraordinary advance which had been made in that department now laid them at the mercy of

the government. Kerneburg Castle, the last resort of the insurgents, was reduced with the utmost facility. The Maclanes

A.D. 1501. and Macleods submitted, and Donald Du was taken captive and imprisoned in the castle of Inch Connel, where he was destined to remain for forty years.

At no period, however, did the Highlanders exhibit more of the extraordinary perseverance with which they support a falling cause; for although the person whom they regarded as the legitimate heir of the Isles was in hopeless captivity, they made an attempt to place his nearest relation and presumptive heir in possession of the Isles; and accordingly it was not many years after the failure of their former insurrection, that Donald Galda, the son of that Alaster who had been the principal mover in the former rebellion, having just attained the age of majority, raised another insurrection in the Isles, in order to assert what he considered his just claim to the lordship of the Isles; but this attempt, although supported by a greater proportion of the chiefs, proved equally unsuccessful with the last.

A.D. 1515. It appears that Donald Galda had no sooner declared his intention of attempting to regain the Isles, than he was joined by the powerful clan of the Macleods. He also reconciled himself with the Macconnells of Kintyre, and with this great accession of power he succeeded in obtaining possession of the Isles, and was immediately declared lord of the Isles; but he did not long enjoy his dignity, as he died a few weeks afterwards, and the only event of his short reign was his revenging his father's death upon the Macians of Ardnamurchan, by the slaughter of their chief and his son.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GALLGAEL—(*continued*).

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill success of the two attempts which the Macdonalds had made to set up one of their race as lord of the Isles, they remained determined not to give up all prospect of having a chief of their own race without a farther struggle. The effects of the last insurrections had indeed so completely depressed and crushed them for the time, that they appear to have been, during the remainder of the reign of James V., in no condition to attempt such an enterprise; and it was in consequence not till the regency of Mary of Guise, that an apparently favourable opportunity offered itself for the purpose. The race of Celestine, John's immediate younger brother, being now extinct, they turned their thoughts towards Donald Du, the son of Angus Og, in whose favour the first attempt had been made shortly after the death of the last lord of the Isles; and they now determined to make a final effort to place him in possession of the inheritance which they conceived to have been unjustly wrested from him. Donald Du had been carried off, when still a minor, on the successful siege of Kerneburgh, by Sir Andrew Wood, and had been detained in captivity ever since in Inchconnel; but a sudden and unexpected attack upon his castle by the Macdonalds of Glenco effected his liberation, and he had no sooner arrived in the Isles than he was declared lord, and received the submission of the chiefs of the different branches of the Macdonalds and the other Island lords. In this insurrection, Donald Du was supported by the earl of Lennox, who was at that time in the English interest; and as long as Lennox continued in league with him, he remained in possession of the Isles; but that earl having soon after made his

A.D. 1548.

peace with the king, and disbanded his followers, Donald Du went to Ireland for the purpose of raising forces to support his occupancy of the territories of the Isles, but having been attacked with fever, he died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin, and with him ended the direct line of the earls of Ross and lords of the Isles, and all hopes of a descendant of Somerled again reigning over the Isles. Thus ended the last effort made by the Macdonalds to regain their former state and power, and from this period they have remained divided and broken up into various branches, whose numerical strength is rendered unavailing by their mutual jealousy and want of union.

Upon the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, and failure of their subsequent attempts to retrieve their affairs, the various clans occupying the extensive territories which had owned their sway, were found in one or other of three situations : of one class were a number of clans which became dependent upon the Macdonalds, but were not of the same origin, and these clans, with the exception of the Macleods, Macclanes, and others, opposed all the attempts made for the restoration of the family of the Isles, while upon the success of that opposition all of them raised themselves in strength and power. A second class were of the same origin as the family of the Isles, but having branched off from the main stem before the succession of the elder branches fell to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, in the reign of David II., and before they rose to the height of their power, they now appeared as separate clans ; of these were the Macalasters, Macians, &c. The Macalasters are traced by the MS. of 1450 from Alaster, a son of Angus Mor ; and while the general derivation is confirmed by their tradition, the particular steps of the genealogy contained in that MS. derive corroboration from the records.

The Macalasters inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre, and during the government of the lords of the Isles, we of course know little of their history. But after the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent, and were immediately exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, so that their principal possessions soon found their way into different branches of that wide spreading race.

The Macians of Ardnamurchan are descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father gave the property which he had obtained from the crown ; while the descent of the Macians, or Macdonalds, of Glencoe, from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, lord of the Isles, is undoubted, and never has been disputed, and their history in no degree differs from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. There is but one circumstance peculiar to them which has rendered their name celebrated in the annals of the country,—that of the infamous massacre to which this unfortunate clan was subjected ; a well-known transaction, into the details of which it is unnecessary here to enter. It must for ever remain a blot upon the memory of the king in whose reign it happened, and on that nobleman by whom it was perpetrated, which can never be effaced ; and so detestable a transaction is almost sufficient to justify the hatred and opposition of the Highlanders towards the established government, which, united to their personal attachment to the line of their ancient kings, produced the unfortunate insurrections of the years 1715 and 1745. The third set were the descendants of the different lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, but among whom the subject of the representation of the lords of the Isles soon introduced great dissensions. These branches all adopted the name of Macdonald, and the first great division which took place among them was between the descendants of the sons of the two marriages of John, lord of the Isles, in the fourteenth century. The descendants of the first marriage were limited to the clan Ranald ; those of the second consisted of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Isla, and Keppoch, and the former, now that the circumstances which had given the latter in some degree a pre-eminence were at an end, loudly asserted their right to be considered as the patriarchal chiefs of the clan Donald.

Among the descendants of the latter family, the representation now clearly devolved upon the Macdonalds of Sleat, who were descended of Hugh, brother of John, the last lord of the Isles. The three branches, however, remained in every respect independent of each other. The second branch, or Macdonald of Isla and Kintyre, after maintaining themselves for some time in a state of considerable power, at length sunk gradually before

the secret but powerful agency of the Campbells, and were finally extinguished in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., when the Campbells, having procured letters of fire and sword against the whole clan Jan Vor, and having also obtained the assistance of the Macleods, Macleans, Macneils, Camerons, and others, compelled the last representative of that house, Sir James Macdonald, to fly to Spain, upon which the earl of Argyll got a grant of their lands, which forms the most valuable portion of his property.

The Macdonalds of Keppoch remained for a long period in the forcible possession of their district of Lochaber, in spite of every effort to dispossess them, which occasioned their being engaged in perpetual feuds with their neighbours. They were the last of the Highlanders who retained the system of predatory warfare, in which at one time all were equally engaged; and as it is not long since they became extinct, it may be said that they preserved the warlike and high-spirited character of the ancient Highlander until it terminated with their own existence. The Macdonalds of Sleat is the only branch which has increased in power and station, and as their elevation to the peerage by the title of Lord Macdonald has placed them in the apparent situation of chief of the race, it will not be improper to add a few remarks on the claims of the different branches to that station.

While it is fully admitted that the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last lord of the Isles, yet if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan took its name, or even of John of the Isles in the reign of David II., are to be held as forming one clan, it is plain that, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship lay unquestionably in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. John of the Isles had, by Amy, the daughter of Roderick of the Isles, three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, of whom the last only left descendants, and from whom the clan Ranald unquestionably derive their origin. By the daughter of Robert II., John had four sons, Donald, lord of the Isles, from whom came the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom the Macconells of Kyntyre; Alaster, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus.

In this question, therefore, there are involved two subordinate questions which have given rise to considerable disputes.—First, was Amy, the daughter of Roderic of the Isles, John's legitimate wife, and were the sons of that marriage John's legitimate heirs? And secondly, if the sons of the first marriage are legitimate, who is chief of the clan Ranald, the only clan descended from that marriage? With regard to the first point, there are two documents which place it beyond all doubt that Amy was John's lawful wife. The first of these is a dispensation from the Pope in 1337 to John, son of Angus of the Isles, and Amie, daughter of Roderic of the Isles. The second is the treaty between John and David II. in 1369, in which the hostages are "Donaldum filium meum ex filia domini senescali Scotiæ genitum Angusium filium quondam Johannis filii mei et Donaldum quemdam alium filium meum *naturalem*." John had by Amy three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, and the distinction made in the above passage between John "*filius meus*," and Donald *filius meus naturalis*, proves that this family were legitimate. But it is equally clear that the children of this marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs. When Robert II., in pursuance of the policy which he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of the two marriages feudally independent of each other, it was effected in this manner. John received charters of certain of his lands containing a special destination to the heir of the marriage with the king's daughter, while he granted a charter of another portion of his lands, consisting of the lordship of Garmoran, part of Lochaber, and some of the Isles, among which was that of Uist, to Reginald, one of the children of the first marriage, to be held of John's lawful heirs, and this charter was confirmed by the king. That a special destination was necessary to convey part of John's possessions to the children of the second marriage is in itself a strong presumption that they were not his feudal heirs, and from the terms of Reginald's charter it is manifest that he must, on John's death, have held his lands of the person universally acknowledged to be the feudal heir of the lord of the Isles. This person, however, was his brother Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, for in a charter to the Abbey of Inchaffray, dated 7th July, 1389, he designates himself

"Dominus de Uist," and dates his charter "Apud Castrum meum de Ylantirum," both of which are included in Reginald's charter. Moreover it appears that he was succeeded in this by his son Alexander, for when James II. summoned a parliament at Inverness, to which those only who held their lands in chief of the crown, were bound to attend, and when, from the state of the country at the time, it is apparent that no one would appear who could on any ground excuse his absence, we find among those who obeyed the summons, Alexander Maccreury de Garmoran. Maccreury and Macgorry, or son of Godfrey, are convertible expressions, and the attendance of this chief in parliament proves that the sons of Godfrey held the lordship of Garmoran in chief of the crown. We find, however, that the rest of Reginald's lands were equally held of this Alexander, for Reginald's charter included a considerable part of Lochaber, and in the year 1394 an indenture was entered into between the Earl of Moray and Alexander de Insulis dominus de Lochaber for the protection of certain lands in Morayshire. We thus see that when it was intended that the eldest son of the second marriage should hold his lands of the crown a special destination to him was requisite, that a charter of certain lands was given to Reginald to be held of John's feudal heirs, and that these very lands were held in chief of the crown by Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, and by his son Alexander. It is, therefore, plain that the actual effect of Robert the Second's policy was to divide the possessions of his formidable vassals into two distinct and independent feudal lordships, of which the *Dominium de Garmoran et Lochaber* was held by the eldest son of the first marriage, and the *Dominium Insularum* by the eldest son of the second marriage; and in this state they certainly remained until the fatal parliament of 1427, when the lord of Garmoran was beheaded and his estates forfeited to the crown.

The policy of James I. induced him then to reverse the proceedings of his predecessor Robert, and he accordingly concentrated the Macdonald possessions in the person of the lord of the Isles, but this arbitrary proceeding could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the clan Donald, which now, on the failure of

the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, unquestionably devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage.

Of the descent of the clan Ranald, there is no doubt whatever, nor has it ever been disputed, that they derive their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, a son of John, lord of the Isles, by Amy Mac Rory. Ranald obtained, as we have seen, from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey, and these were the same territories which the clan Ranald possessed, as appears from the parliamentary records in 1587, when mention is made of the "Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry." There has, however, arisen considerable doubt which of the various families descended from Ranald anciently possessed the chiefship, and without entering in this place into an argument of any great length on the subject, we shall state shortly the conclusions to which we have been led after a rigid examination of that question.

That the present family styling themselves "of Clanranald" were not the ancient chiefs there can be no doubt, as it is now a matter of evidence that they are descended from a *bastard* son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who assumed the title of captain of Clanranald in 1531, and as long as the descendants of the elder brother remain they can have no claim by right of blood. The point we are to examine is, who was the chief previous to that assumption?

Ranald had five sons, of whom three only left issue, viz.: Donald, from whom descended the family of Knoydart and Glengarry; Allan, the ancestor of the family of Moydart; and Angus, from whom came the family of Moror. That the descendants of Angus were the youngest branch, and could have no claim to the chiefship, has never been disputed, and the question accordingly lies between the descendants of Donald and of Allan. The seniority of Donald, however, is distinctly proved by the fact, that on the extinction of the family of Moror, the family of Moydart succeeded legally to that property; consequently by the law of Scotland they must have been descended from a younger son than the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, and it follows of necessity that the latter family

must have been that of the chief. Independently, however, of this argument, derived from the history of their properties, the same fact is evinced by the constant appearance of the latter family at the head of the clan previous to the usurpation of the family of Moydart; thus when after Alexander, the lord of Garmoran, had been beheaded in 1427, and the lord of the Isles was soon after imprisoned, the whole clan rose in arms and revenged the death and imprisonment of their chiefs by the defeat of the king's army at Inverlochy in 1433, they were commanded by Donald the son of Ranald, for the oldest authorities term the Donald Balloch who led the clan on this occasion, the son of Alexander's uncle. The only other Donald who stood in this relation to Alexander was the son of John Mor, of Isla; but the same authorities state that the Donald Balloch of Inverlochy was betrayed and slain but a very few years afterwards, while the Donald the son of John Mor was unquestionably alive in 1462. The Donald Balloch of Inverlochy must, therefore, have been Donald the son of Ranald, and unless he was the chief of the clan Ranald it is difficult to suppose that he would have been placed in command of the whole clan, while the natural inference from the transaction is, that the clan turned themselves to Donald as the person who had the best right to lead them. Donald had three sons, John, Alaster, and Angus.¹ On the forfeiture of Alexander Mac Gorry of Garmoran in 1427, that part of Lochaber possessed by him was granted to the Earl of Marr, while all those lands held of him by the clan Ranald remained in the crown, and consequently the chief of clan Ranald must have held them as crown vassal.² Accordingly we find John, the eldest son of Donald, holding his lands of the crown, as appears from a gift of the nonentries of Knoydart to Cameron since the decease of umq^{il} John

¹MS. of 1450.

²Not only did the chief of clan Ranald hold these lands of the crown, as he had previously held them of Alexander Mac Gorry, but it actually appears that the Lord of the Isles was his vassal in some of them, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles, grants a

charter to the ancestor of the Macneills, dated in 1427, of the island of Barra, and of the lands of Boysdale in the island of Uist, both of which islands are included in Reginald's charter, and one of which was, as we have seen, certainly held in chief of the crown by the heir of the *first* marriage.

Mac Ranald,¹ and this sufficiently indicates his position at the head of the clan, as, if he had not been chief, he would have held his lands of the Moydart family. John appears by another charter to have died in 1467, and in 1476 the lands of Garmoran were included in a crown charter to John, lord of the Isles. The lords of the Isles had invariably manifested the most inveterate hostility to the rival family of Garmoran and their supporters. On the acquisition of Lochaber by Alexander, lord of the Isles, after his release from prison, this animosity displayed itself in the proscription of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Macmartins of Letterfinlay, and others who were always faithful adherents of the patriarchal chief of the clan. The same animosity was now directed against the chief of clan Ranald; his lands of Knoydart appear to have been given to Lochiel, the lands of Southmoror, Arisaig, and many of the isles, were bestowed on Hugh of Slait, the brother of the lord of the Isles, and in this way the principal branch of the clan Ranald was reduced to a state of depression from which it did not soon recover. To this proscription there was but one exception, viz, the family of Moydart, who alone retained their possessions, and in consequence, on the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, they did not hesitate to avail themselves of their situation, and place themselves at the head of the clan, a proceeding to which the representative of the ancient chiefs was not in a situation to offer any resistance. This was principally effected by John, surnamed Mudortach, a bastard son of the brother of the laird of Moydart; but the character of the usurpation is sufficiently marked by the title of *captain* of clan Ranald, which alone he assumed, and which his descendants retained until the latter part of the last century, when the Highland title of captain of clan Ranald was most improperly converted into the feudal one of Macdonald of clan Ranald. At the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the family of Knoydart and Glengarry consisted of two branches termed

¹ That this John Mac Ranald was John, the eldest son of Donald, appears from two facts; first, his lands adjoin those of Alaster, the second son, and are separated by them from those of

the other branches of the clan; second, on the failure of his descendants the descendants of Alaster succeeded to them.

respectively "of Knoydart" and "of Glengarry," of which the former was the senior; and while the senior branch never recovered from the depressed state to which they had been reduced, the latter obtained a great accession of territory, and rose at once to considerable power by a fortunate marriage with the heiress of the Macdonalds of Lochalsh. During the existence of the senior branch, the latter acknowledged its head as their chief, but on their extinction, which occurred soon after the usurpation by the family of Moydart, the Glengarry branch succeeded to their possessions, and as representing Donald, the eldest son of Ranald, the founder of the clan, loudly asserted their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained.

As the Moydart family were unwilling to resign the position which they had acquired, this produced a division of the clan into two factions, but the right of the descendants of Donald is strongly evinced by the above fact of the junior branch acknowledging a chief during the existence of the senior, and only maintaining their right to that station on its extinction and by the acknowledgment of the chiefship of the Glengarry family constantly made by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and other branches of the clan, who had invariably followed the patriarchal chiefs in preference to the rival family of the lords of the Isles.

These few facts, which are necessarily given but very concisely, are, however, sufficient to warrant us in concluding that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was Ranald's eldest son; that from John, Donald's eldest son, proceeded the senior branch of this family, who were chiefs of clan Ranald; that they were from circumstances, but principally in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the lord of the Isles, so completely reduced, that the oldest cadet, as usual in such cases, obtained the actual chiefship, with the title of captain, while on the extinction of this branch, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry, descended from Alaster, Donald's second son, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that right of blood to the chiefship of which no usurpation, however successful, could deprive them.

The family of Glengarry have since then not only claimed the chiefship of the clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as undoubted representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and when the services rendered by the family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by a peerage from Charles II., Glengarry indicated his rights by assuming the title of Lord Macdonell and Arross, which, on the failure of male heirs of his body, did not descend to his successors, although his lands formed in consequence the barony of Macdonell.

Arms.

Quarterly. First—Or, a lion rampant, azure, armed and langued, gules. Second—A dexter hand coupee; holding a cross crosslet, fitchee sable. Third—Or, a ship with her sails furled, salterwise, sable. Fourth—A salmon naiant, proper, with a chief waved argent.

Badge.

Heath.

Principal Seat.

Isla.

Oldest Cadet.

Mac Alaster of Loup, now Somerville Macalister of Kennox.

Chief.

The Ranaldson Macdonells, of Macdonell and Glengarry, are the unquestionable male representatives of the founder of the clan, and therefore possess the right of blood to the chiefship.

Force.

In 1427 the Macdonells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men.

In 1715, the whole clan, 2820. In 1745, 2350.

Clan Dugall.

The Macdogalls have, in general, been derived from Dogall, the eldest son of Somerled, and it has been hitherto assumed, that Alexander de Ergadia, who first appears in 1284, and who was the undoubted ancestor of the clan, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, or king Ewen, who appears so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. But this derivation, to which the resemblance of name has probably given rise, is unquestionably erroneous, for independently of the fact that there is strong evidence for king Ewen having died without male issue, it is

expressly contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, in two several places. That invaluable record of Highland genealogies says expressly, that from Ranald sprung the clan Rory, clan Donald, and *clan Dogall*; and that this was no mere mistake, but the real opinion of the author, is evident, for in another place he gives the genealogy of the Macdogalls of Dunolly from Dugall the son of Ranald. This, however, is confirmed by the chartulary of Cupar, for the manuscript makes Alexander de Ergadia, the son of *Duncan*, son of Dugall, son of Reginald; and in that chartulary Duncanus de Lornyn witnesses a charter of the earl of Atholl of the lands of Dunfallandy, dated certainly between 1253 and 1270, while during that period Ewen was in possession of the lands of his branch of the family. These facts seem to leave little room to doubt that this clan were in reality descended from Ranald, the son of Somerled, and that their ancestor Dugall was the brother of Donald, the founder of the clan Donald.

The first appearance of this family is at the convention of 1284, where we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, and his attendance on this occasion was probably procured by a crown charter of his lands; but from this period we lose sight of him until the reign of Robert the Bruce, when the opposition of Alexander de Ergadia, lord of Lorn, and his son John to the succession of that king, has made his name familiar in Scottish history. Alaster having married the third daughter of John, called the Red Comyn, who was slain by Bruce in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became, from that circumstance, the mortal enemy of that prince, and on more than one occasion, was the means of reducing him to great straits, in the early period of his reign. After his defeat at Methven, in June 19, 1306, Bruce retreated to the mountainous part of Braidalbane, and approached the borders of Argyllshire, where, with his followers, who did not amount to three hundred men, he was encountered by Lorn with about a thousand of his followers, and repulsed after a very severe engagement. The Bruce with difficulty escaped, and the greatness of his danger is attested by the fact, that upon one occasion he was only able to extricate himself from the followers of Lorn by unclasping his mantle; and the brooch, which is said to have been lost by him during

the struggle, is still preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdogall of Dunolly.

The place where this battle was fought is still called Dalry, or the King's Field. On another occasion, when he had been obliged to hide from his enemies, he was tracked for a long distance by John of Lorn and his party, by aid of a blood-hound, and only escaped by the exertion of almost incredible personal courage and activity. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when Bruce had finally established himself firmly on the throne of Scotland, one of his first objects should be directed towards crushing his old enemies the Macdogalls, and revenging the many injuries he had received from them.

Accordingly, he marched into Argyllshire for the purpose of laying that country waste and taking possession of Lorn, and found John of Lorn, with his followers, posted in the formidable and nearly inaccessible pass which intervenes between the mountain of Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe. But the military skill of Bruce was able to overcome even the natural difficulties of the country, for he dispatched a party to scale the mountain, and gain the heights, while attacking the enemy in front, he speedily changed their resistance into precipitate flight—the difficulty of the pass, which had been of advantage to them in the attack, now proved their ruin when in flight, and accordingly, being unable to effect their escape, they were totally routed, and that with great slaughter. Upon this event Bruce laid waste Argyllshire, and besieged the castle of Dunstafnage, which he compelled to surrender. Alaster, of Lorn, hopeless of successfully continuing his opposition, submitted to the victorious king, while his son John, who could not expect to be admitted to any terms, fled to England. The greater part of their territories were forfeited by the king, and given to Angus of Isla, who throughout had been one of his main supports, while Alaster was allowed to retain the district of Lorn. At this time the king of England was making preparations for that great expedition into Scotland, which resulted in the battle of Bannockburn, and on the arrival of John of Lorn as a fugitive, he appointed him admiral of the fleet, and dispatched him to Scotland, to co-operate with the land army. The battle of

Bannockburn soon after confirmed Bruce in the secure possession of the crown, and he was no sooner relieved from the apprehension of any farther attempt on the part of the king of England to regain possession of Scotland, than he determined to drive the lord of Lorn out of the Isles, where he had arrived with his fleet. For this purpose, when he had accompanied his brother Edward in his expedition to Ireland, he turned his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, he is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which unites Kintyre and Knapdale.

“ And quhen thai, that in the Ilis war,
Hard tell how the gud king had thar
Gert hys schippis with saillis ga
Owt our betuix (the) Tarbart (is) twa,
Thai war abaysit sa wtrely
For thai wyst, throw auld prophecy,
That he that suld ger schippis sua
Betuix thai seis with saillis ga,
Suld wyne the Ilis sua till hand
That nane with strength suld him withstand,
Tharfor thai come all to the king,
Wes nane withstud his bidding,
Owtakyn Ihone of Lorne allayne,
But weill sun eftre was he tayne
And present right to the king.”¹

The result of this expedition was the complete dispersion of the English fleet and the seizure of John of Lorn, who was imprisoned in Dumbarton, and afterwards in Lochleven, where he remained during the rest of Robert Bruce's reign. The death of Robert Bruce seems to have procured for John of Lorn his liberty, and as his marriage with a relation of the Comyn had caused the forfeiture of his possessions, so he was now to recover his former station by a more politic connexion with the royal family. He appears to have married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, early in the reign of his successor, David II., and was in consequence not only restored to his possessions, but even obtained a grant of the additional property of Glenlion. These extensive territories were not, however, doomed to remain

¹ Barbour.

long in the family, for on the death of Ewen, the last lord of Lorn, they passed into the family of Stewart of Innermeath; John Stewart of Innermeath and his brother Robert having married his two daughters and co-heiresses, and by an arrangement between the brothers, the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the Castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, situated in the heart of their lordship, which remained to the next branch of the family.

Thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled, who at one time rivalled the other branches in their power and the extent of their territories. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, who were descended from Allan, the son of John of Lorn, and brother of Ewen, the last lord, and who still survive the decay of their ancient grandeur. This family continued to enjoy the small portion of their ancient estates which remained to them until the year 1715, "when the representative incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period, thus losing the remains of his inheritance to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." But the estate was restored to the family in 1745, in consequence of their having taken no part in the attempt of that year.

Arms.

Quarterly. First and fourth—In a field azure, a lion rampant, argent, for Macdogall. Second and third—Or, a lymphad sable, with flame of fire issuing out of the topmast, proper, for Lorn.

Badge.

Cypress.

Principal Seat.

Lorn.

Oldest Cadet.

Macdogall of Raray.

Chief.

Macdogall of Dunolly.

Force.

In 1745, 200.

Siol Gillevrays.

Besides the Macdonalds and the Macdogalls, the MS. of 1450 deduces various others of the Argyllshire clans from the same race. According to that ancient document, a certain Gillebride rig eilan, or king of the Isles, lived in the twelfth century, and was descended from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds slain in 1034; and from Anradan, or Henry, the son of Gillebride, the same authority deduces the Macneills, Maclachlans, Macewens, and Maclaisrichs. That the genealogy by which this Gillebride is brought from an ancestor of the Macdonells, in the beginning of the eleventh century, is authentic, is perhaps more than we are entitled to assert; but the existence of a traditionary affinity between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, sufficiently proves that they were of the same race. Gillebride, probably, merely possessed the Norwegian title of a Sudreya Konungr, or Hebridean king, which was bestowed on the principal Island chiefs; and the seat of his race appears to have been Lochaber, as the different clans descended from him can in general be traced from thence, and his immediate ancestor is termed "Abrice," or of Lochaber. I have ventured to call this tribe the Siol Gillebride, or Gillevrays, as I find an old Sennachy of the Macdonalds stating that in the time of Somerled, "the principal surnames in the country (Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber) were Mac Innes and Mac Gillevrays, who were the same as the Mac Innes." It appears from this passage, that the oldest inhabitants of these districts consisted of two clans, the Mac Gillevrays and the Mac Innes, who were of the same race; and as there is a very old traditionary connexion between the clan A Mhaisdir, or Mac Innes of Ardgour, and several of the clans descended from Anradan Mac Gillebride, it seems to establish the identity of this tribe with the old Mac Gillevrays of Morvern. The various branches of this tribe probably formed but one clan, under the name of the clan Gillevrays, until the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., when they fully shared in the ruin which fell upon those who adhered to Somerled, with the exception of the Macneills, who agreed to hold their lands of the crown; and the Maclachlans, who

regained their former position by marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. The other branches of this tribe appear, on the breaking up of the clan, to have followed as chief the Macdogall Campbells of Craignish, a family descended of the kindred race of the Mac Innes of Ardgour, who likewise attained to considerable power.

Clan Neill.

The Macneills first appear in the beginning of the fifteenth century as a powerful clan in Knapdale, and as this district was not included in the sheriffdom of Argyll, it is probable that their ancestor had agreed to hold the district as a vassal of the crown. In the beginning of the preceding century we find that the district of Knapdale had been forfeited and given by Robert Bruce to John de Menteth, and in 1310 there is a letter by the king of England granting to John Terrealnanogh and Murquogh, the sons of Swen de Ergadia, the lands of Knapdale, "que quondam fuit *antecessorum* dictorum Johannis Terrealnanogh et Murquogh," and from which they had been driven out by John de Menteth. This Swen appears to be the Swen Ruoidh alluded to in an ancient manuscript genealogy of the Campbells, which adds, he was owner of a great castle, Swen in Knapdale, and was Thane of Glassrie and Knapdale. The next notice of the Macneills is a charter by Alexander, lord of the Isles, dated in 1427, to Gilleonan Roderici Murchardi Makneill, of the Island of Barra, and the lands of Boysdale, in Uist, to him and the longest liver of his brothers procreated between Roderic Makneill and the daughter of Ferquhard Mac Gilleon, and failing them to the heirs whomsoever of the said Roderic.

But Barra was not at this time chief of the clan, as we shall afterwards see. In 1472 we find Hector Mactorquill Macneill, keeper of Castle Swen, witnessing a charter of Celestine, lord of Lochalsh; and from his office of heritable keeper of Castle Swen, which, together with Knapdale, had been again wrested from his ancestors by Robert Bruce, and granted to John of the Isles by Robert II., there seems little doubt that he must have been chief of the clan. Six years

after this the family of Geya first make their appearance in the person of Malcolm Macneill of Gigha, who, in 1478, witnesses a charter of John, lord of the Isles.

From this period the clan remained divided into these two families of Gigha and Barra, and exhibits the somewhat remarkable feature of part of their possessions being completely separated off and lying at a very great distance from the rest; and as both these properties appear in the possession of the clan at a very early period, it is difficult to say how one part of the clan came to be so detached from the rest. This circumstance, however, has afforded grounds for a dispute between the Macneills of Barra and the Macneills of Taynish, or Gigha, with regard to the chiefship, a circumstance which can be easily accounted for when we recollect that the remoteness of the two possessions must have superseded all dependence or connexion between their occupiers, and that a long period of independence would naturally lead each of them to claim the chiefship of the whole. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, it is certain that neither of these families were in possession of the chiefship, for in the Register of the Privy Seal there appears in that year a letter "to Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macnelis;" and it is unquestionable that this Torkill was neither Gigha nor Barra, for at this date Macneill of Gigha's name was Neill Macnele, and that of Barra, Gilleownan Macneill. As this Torkill is not designated by any property, it is probable that the chiefs of the Macneills possessed the hereditary office of keeper of Castle Swen, in which capacity the first chief of the clan appears. After this period we cannot trace any chief of the clan distinct from the families of Barra and Gigha, and it is probable the family of the hereditary keepers of Castle Swen became extinct in the person of Torkill, and that his heiress carried his possessions to the Macmillans, whom we find soon after in possession of Castle Swen, with a considerable tract of the surrounding country. Tradition unquestionably points to Barra as now chief of the clan, and in this family the right to the chiefship probably exists, although the extreme distance of his possessions, which he appears from the first charter of Barra to have obtained in consequence of a marriage

with an heiress of the Macleáns, from the rest, led many of them to follow the Macneills of Gigha, and made the latter family almost independent.

Arms.

Quarterly. First—Azure, a lion rampant argent. Second—Or, a hand coupee, fessways, gules, holding a cross, crosslet, fitchee, in pale azure. Third—Or, a lymphad sable. Fourth—Parted per fess, argent and vert, to represent the sea, out of which issueth a rock, gules.

Badge.

Sea Ware.

Principal Seat.

Knapdale, afterwards Barra.

Oldest Cadet.

Macneill of Gigha.

Chief.

Macneill of Barra.

Clan Lachlan.

The Maclachlans are traced, by the manuscript of 1450, to Gilchrist, the son of Dedaalan, who was son of that Anradan from whom all the clans of this tribe are descended, and besides the high authority which this genealogy derives from the circumstance that there is every reason to think that the author of the manuscript was a Maclachlan, it is farther confirmed by the fact that at the period at which the manuscript mentions a Gillepadrig Mac Gilchrist as one of the chiefs of the clan, we find in the Paisley chartulary a charter by "Laumanus filius Malcolmi," the ancestor of the Lamonts, witnessed by Gillpatrick filius Gilchrist. Universal tradition asserts that they acquired these lands in Cowall by marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds, and the manuscript apparently indicates the same fact, for it states that this Gilchrist married the daughter of Lachlan Mac Rory, while Lachlan Mac Rory is exactly cotemporary with Angus Mac Rory, lord of Cowall, chief of the Lamonds. Their original seat appears to have been in Lochaber, where a very old branch of the family has from the earliest period been settled as native men of the Camerons. But as this clan soon after their acquisitions in Cowall became dependent upon the Campbells, we are unable to furnish any

history of the subsequent generations. Although the Maclachlans were thus reduced by the Campbells to a species of dependence, they still remained a clan of considerable strength, and for a long period do not appear to have been subject to any great change in their condition: in the year 1745 their strength was estimated at three hundred men.

Arms.

Quarterly. First—Or, a lion rampant gules. Second—Argent, a hand coupee fessways, holding a cross, crosslet, fitchee, gules. Third—Or, a galley, her oars in saltyre, sable, placed in a sea proper. Fourth—Argent, in a base undee vert, a salmon naiant, proper.

Badge.

Mountain ash.

Principal Seat.

Strathlachlane in Cowall.

Oldest Cadet.

Maclachlan of Coruanan, in Lochaber.

Chief.

Maclachlan of Maclachlan.

Force.

In 1745, 300.

Clan Ewen.

The Reverend Mr. Alexander Macfarlane, in his excellent account of the parish of Killfinnan, says, "on a rocky point on the coast of Lochfine, about a mile below the church, is to be seen the vestige of a building called Caesteal Mhic Eobhuin, *i.e.*, Mac Ewen's castle"; and he adds, "This Mac Ewen was the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter." The reverend gentleman professes his inability to discover who this Mac Ewen was, but this omission is supplied by the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the clan "Eoghan na Hoitreic," or clan Ewen of Otter, and in which they are brought from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclachlans and Macneills.

This family became very soon extinct, and their property gave a title to a branch of the Campbells; of their history consequently, we know nothing whatever.

Siol Eachern.

Under this name are comprised the Macdogall Campbells of Craignish, and Lamonds of Lamond, both of whom are very old clans in Argyllshire, and were, as we have reason to think, of the same race.

Clan Dugall Craignish.

The policy of the Argyll family led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property and the extension of the clan. One of the arts, which they used for the latter purpose, was to compel those clans which had become dependent upon them to adopt the name of Campbell, and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of being an illegitimate branch, but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells and those who were compelled to adopt their name. Of this, the Campbells of Craignish afford a remarkable instance; they are said to be descended from Dogall, an illegitimate son of one of the ancestors of the Campbells in the twelfth century, but the universal tradition of the country is that their old name was Mac Eachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds. This is partly confirmed by their arms, being the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which hangs a shield, containing the gironé of eight pieces or and sable of the Campbells, and still more by the manuscript of 1450, which contains a genealogy of the Mac Eacherns, deducing them, not from the Campbells, but from a certain Nicol Mac Murdoch in the twelfth century. When the Mac Gillevrays and Mac Innes of Morvern and Ardgour were dispersed and broken up, we find that many of their septs, especially the Mac Innes, although not residing on any of the Craignish properties, acknowledged that family as their chief. Accordingly, as the Mac Gillevrays and Mac Innes were two branches of the same clan, and separate from each other, as early as the twelfth century; and as the Mac Eacherns are certainly of the same race, while Murdoch,

the first of the clan, is exactly contemporary with Murdoch, the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevray, there seems little doubt that the Siol Eachern and the Mac Innes were the same clan.¹ That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish in the ancient sheriffdom of Argyll, were called the Clan Dogall Craignish, and are said to have obtained this property from the brother of Campbell of Lochow in the reign of David II. Certain it is that in that reign, Gillespie Campbell obtained these lands on the forfeiture of his brother, Colin Campbell of Lochow, and it is probable that from him the clan Dougall Craignish acquired their right. The Lochow family were afterwards restored from this forfeiture, and the Craignish family were then obliged to hold their lands of the Argyll family.

They remained for some time after this a powerful family, though unable eventually to resist that influence which swept all the neighbouring clans under the power of the Campbells, where they soon became identified with the other clans which had been compelled to assume the name of Campbell and to give up their existence as a clan, to swell the already overgrown size of that powerful race.

Clan Lamond.

There are few traditions more universally believed in the Highlands, or which can be traced back to an earlier period, than that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall; and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells, obtained their possessions in that district by marriage with daughters of that family. At an early period, we find that a small part of Upper Cowall was included in the sheriffdom of Argyll, while the rest of the district remained in the shire of Perth; it is plain, therefore, that the lord of Lower Cowall had, on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. Towards the end of the same century, we find the high steward in possession of Lower

¹ There was an old family of Mac Eachern of Kingerloch, and as Kingerloch marches with Ardgour, the old property of the Mac Innes, it strongly confirms the hypothesis that the two clans were of the same race.

Cowall, and the Maclachlans in that of Strachlachlan; and as it appears that, in 1242, Alexander the high steward married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus Mac Rory, said to be lord of Bute, while the manuscript of 1450 informs us that about the same period Gilchrist Maclachlan married the daughter of Lachlan Mac Rory, it seems probable that this Roderic or Rory was the person who obtained the crown charter of Lower Cowall, and that by these marriages the property passed to the Stewarts and Maclachlans. The identity of these facts with the tradition, at the same time, indicate that Angus Mac Rory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Stewart with his heiress, the next of the Lamonds whom we trace is "Duncanus filius Ferchar," and "Laumanus filius Malcolmi nepos ejusdem Duncani," who grant a charter to the monks of Paisley, of the lands of Kilmor near Lochgilp, and of the lands "*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt.*" In the same year there is a charter by Laumanus filius Malcolmi, of Kilfinan, and this last charter is confirmed in 1295 by "Malcolmus filius et hæres domini quondam Laumani." That this Laumanus was the ancestor of the Lamonds is proved by an instrument, in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of that ilk, regarding the lands of Kilfinan, in which it is expressly said, that these lands had belonged to John Lamond's ancestors. From Laumanus the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond; and previous to Laumanus they unquestionably bore the name of Macerachar, and clan ic Earachar. The close connexion of this clan with the clan Dougall Craignish is marked out by the same circumstances which have indicated the other branches of that tribe; for during the power of the Craignish family, a great portion of the clan ic Earacher followed that family as their natural chief, although they had no feudal right to their services. There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds, that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to the uncertain lights of tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their great antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells by whom they were

soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowall, as the other Argyllshire clans had been of theirs. As a clan, the Lamonds were of very much the same station as the Maclachlans, and like them, they have still retained a part of their ancient possessions.

Arms.

Azure, a lion rampant argent.

Badge.

Crab-apple tree.

Principal Seat.

Lower Cowall.

Chief.

Lamond of Lamond.

CHAPTER V.

THE GALLGAEL--(*continued*).*Atholl.*

THE district of Atholl unquestionably formed, from the very earliest period, one of the principal possessions of the powerful and extensive tribe of the Gallgael; but it possesses peculiar claims to our attention from the fact, that it is the earliest district in Scotland which is mentioned in history, and that it has, from a remote period, preserved its name and its boundaries unaltered. Its principal interest, however, arises from the strong presumption which exists, that the family which gave a long line of kings to the Scottish throne, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, took their origin from this district, to which they can be traced before the marriage of their ancestor with the daughter of Malcolm II, raised them to the throne of Scotland. When Thorfinn, the earl of Orkney, conquered the North of Scotland, the only part of the territory of the Northern Picts which remained unsubjected to his power was the district of Atholl and part of Argyll. The king of the Gallgael was slain in the unsuccessful attempt to preserve the Isles, and the king of the Scots, with the whole of his nobility, had fallen in the short but bloody campaign which laid the North of Scotland under the Norwegian earl.

Had any of the Scottish nobility remained, of sufficient power to offer the least resistance to the progress of the Norwegians, there can be little doubt that he would naturally have been placed on the throne; but in the disastrous condition to which the Scots were reduced, they had recourse to Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by the daughter of Malcolm, the last Scottish king. Duncan, after a reign of six years, was slain in an attempt to recover the northern districts from the

Norwegians; and his sons were driven out by Macbeth, who thus added the South of Scotland, for the time, to the Norwegian conquest.

The circumstances attending the establishment of the race of Crinan again on the throne are well known; but there is no fact which so completely establishes the entire overthrow of the Scots, and that the country wrested by Malcolm Kenmore from the Norwegians, had been completely divested of its nobility, than this, that Malcolm's family were no sooner in possession of the crown, than they divided the Lowlands of Scotland into earldoms, according to the Saxon polity, which were *all of them granted to different members of the royal family*. The districts included in Thorfinn's original conquest, we know reverted to the descendants of the original proprietors, but the earldoms into which the rest of the country was divided, can all be traced originally in the possession of Malcolm Kenmore.

These earldoms, however, consisted of exactly the country actually inhabited by the *Scots, and the earldom of Atholl* possessed by the *Northern PICTS*. The establishment of Malcolm Kenmore, as king of Scotland, would, in the circumstances, place the *Scottish* districts at his disposal, and there is therefore the strongest presumption that Atholl was the original possession of his race before they ascended the throne. This is confirmed by the circumstance that when the descendants of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Kenmore, were excluded from the crown by his younger sons, they succeeded, nevertheless, as we shall afterwards see, to the earldom of Atholl, and still more by the designation which our earlier historians gave to Crinan, the founder of this royal race. Fordun, in mentioning the marriage of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, with Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm II., the issue of which marriage was Duncan, who succeeded his maternal grandfather, and was murdered by Macbeth, styles Crinan "*Abthanus de Dul ac seneschallus insularum*." With regard to the first of these two titles, Pinkerton remarks, "To support this nonsense, Fordun brings more nonsense, and tells us *abba* is father, and *thana* is residence vel numerans, and the abthane was a chamberlain, who managed the king's rent and treasury. But who," adds Pinkerton, "ever heard of an abthane? and who knows not that Dull, a village, could not

give a title which was, in that age, territorial?" and in this remark he has been followed by all subsequent historians.

The following notices will shew, not only that there was such a title as abthane in Scotland, but even that that very title of Abthane of Dull existed to a late period, and consequently that Pinkerton, in denying its existence, only betrays his gross ignorance, and want of real research into the minuter parts of Scottish history :—

Charter.—William the Lyon to the Bishop of Dunkeld, of terra de *Abbethayn de Kilmichael*, in Strathardolf.¹

Charter.—Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, of *reditu viginti solidorum qui nos et clericos nostros contingit de Abthania de Dull*.²

Charter.—William the Lion to Gilbert, Earl of Stratherne, of Madderty, and confirmation by Galfridus, Bishop of Dunkeld, of the said grant to the church of Madderty, et super terra qui *Abthen de Madderdyn* dicitur et super quieta clamazione de Can et Conneck qui clerici Dunkelden *antiquitus ab eadem Abthen* perceperunt.³

Charter by David II. to John Drummond, of the office of Baillierie, of the *Abthain of Dull*, in Athol⁴; and

Charter by the same king to Donald Macnayre, terre de Ester Fossache, in *Abthania de Dull*, in vic de Perth.⁵

These notices establish the existence of Abthanes and Abthainries in Scotland, and also of the particular Abthainry of Dull in Atholl. As it is very plain, however, that Fordun neither knew what it meant, nor of the existence of the Abthainrie of Dull, independent of Crinan, it appears evident that he must have drawn his information from some authentic document, for it is impossible to suppose that he would invent a title which he could not explain, or if he had been aware of the actual existence of the Abthainrie of Dull in after times, that he would have given the absurd explanation which he did. Crinan is the first person who can be traced of that race which gave so many kings to Scotland from Duncan to Alexander

¹ Chartulary of Dunfermline.

² Chartulary of St. Andrews.

³ Chartulary of Inchaffray.

⁴ Robertson's Index.

⁵ Ibid.

III.; their origin is lost in obscurity, and if, as we conclude, the titles given to Crinan by Fordun are drawn from an authentic source, it becomes a matter of great interest and importance to trace the origin and signification of the title of Abthane generally, and of that of Abthane of Dull in particular.

The title of Abthane is peculiar to Scotland, and does not appear to have existed in any other country. It also appears to have been of but very rare occurrence even in Scotland, for I have been able to trace only three Abthainries in Scotland—viz., those of Dull, Kilmichael, and Madderty; the two former in Atholl, and the latter in Stratherne. From this it is plain that it could not have been always a peculiar and distinctive title, but must merely be a modification of the title of Thane, produced by peculiar circumstances. The name shews that it must in its nature have been strictly analogous to the Thane, and for the same reason it must have taken its origin subsequent to the introduction of Thanes into Scotland. It would be needless here to controvert the idea formerly so prevalent in Scotland, that the Thanes were the ancient governors of the provinces, for it is now universally admitted that the Scottish Thane was the same title with the Saxon Thegn, or Thane, in England, and that it was introduced with the Saxon polity into Scotland; but it will be necessary to advert to an erroneous opinion first started by Chalmers in his *Caledonia*, and since adopted by many, that the Thane was merely a land steward or bailiff, and that the Abthane was just the abbot's steward, in the same way as the king's thane was the king's steward. With regard to the Abthane this is impossible, when we consider that although there were many abbots in Scotland who must have had their land stewards, yet there are but three instances of the title of Abthane connected with land in Scotland. His idea of the nature of the Thane is equally erroneous, for if the Scottish Thane was introduced by the Saxons, as Chalmers has succeeded in establishing, the characters of the offices must be the same; and nothing is clearer than that the Saxon Thane was not a land steward, but the actual proprietor of a certain extent of land held directly of the crown, and that it was the title of a Saxon land proprietor exactly equivalent to the Norman baron. Of course, judging

by analogy, the Thanes and Abthanes of Scotland must have been also land proprietors. In order to ascertain the period in which they were introduced into Scotland, it will be necessary to advert shortly to the events in Scottish history which caused the introduction of Saxon polity. It is well known that Duncan, the son of Crinan, was killed by Macbeth, and that his son Malcolm fled to England for protection; and it is now equally clear that Macbeth was not the usurper he is generally considered, but that he claimed the throne under the Celtic law of succession, and that he was supported throughout by the Celtic inhabitants of the country, who inhabited all to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, Lothian being possessed by the Angli. Malcolm Canmore was placed upon the throne by an English army. On his death, however, his brother Donald succeeded in obtaining possession of the crown, to the prejudice of Malcolm's sons; and as he claimed the throne on the Celtic law that brothers succeeded before sons, he was supported by the Celtic inhabitants, and his party succeeded in expelling the English whom Malcolm had introduced. Donald was expelled by an English army composed principally of Normans, who placed Duncan, Malcolm's eldest son, generally considered a bastard, on the throne, but finding he could not retain possession of it without the concurrence of the Celtic party, Duncan was forced to dismiss the English once more—a measure which did not avail him, for he was slain by his uncle, Donald Bane, and the expulsion of the English completed. Edgar, his brother, now made the third attempt to introduce the English, and succeeded, but he was in a very different situation from his father and his brother: they had been placed on the throne by an English army composed principally of Normans, who left them when they had succeeded in their immediate object, but Edgar was, through his mother, the heir of the Saxon monarchy and the legitimate sovereign of all the Saxons, a part of whom possessed the south of Scotland. This is a fact which has not been attended to in Scottish history, but it is a most important one; and it is certain that Edgar entered Scotland at the head of a purely Saxon army, and that during his reign and that of his successor, Alexander I., the constitution of Scotland was purely Saxon. The Norman barons and Norman

institutions were not introduced till the accession of David I., who had previously been to all intents and purposes a Norman baron, and possessed through his wife an extensive Norman barony. Previous to his accession in 1124 there is not a trace of Normanism, if I may be allowed the expression, in Scotland, and we find no other titles of honour than just the two denominations of Saxon landholders, the eorl or earl, and the Thegn or Thane. It is consequently during these two reigns, or between the years 1098 and 1124, that we must look for the origin of Abthanes.

We have already remarked, that Abthane was strictly analogous to Thane, and consequently implies a Saxon landed proprietor; and the name shews that Abthanus and Abthania are the same words with Thanus and Thanagum, with the addition of the prefix Ab. It follows, therefore, that that prefix must express some characteristic of an ordinary Thanus; in other words, that the Abthanus was a landed proprietor, with an additional character expressed by the syllable Ab. The syllable, however, is manifestly derived from Abbas, an abbot; and here we are at once supported by the analogous case of the German Abbacomites. Du Cange defines them to be "Abbates qui simul erant comites," and refers to the similar term of Abba milites, implying abbots who held lands of a subject superior; there can, therefore, be little doubt, judging by analogy, that Abthanus was just Abbas qui simul erat Thanus, or an abbot who possessed a Thanedom; and as Thanedoms were certainly hereditary in Scotland, the name once applied to the lands would always remain. Such being manifestly the origin of Abthanedoms generally, we shall now be better enabled to ascertain the origin of the three Abthanedoms of Dull, Kil-michael, and Madderty. From what has been said, it is plain that the Abthaneries were just Thanedoms held of the crown by an abbot, and that they must have been so created between 1098 and 1124. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance, that these three Abthanedoms were in two essential respects in the very same situation, for, first, as appears from the charters previously quoted, they were at the earliest period at which we can trace them *in the crown*; 2dly, that the monks of *Dunkeld* had ancient rights connected with all of them. From the

previous arguments regarding Abthanes, these facts can be accounted for in one way only. They must, in the first place, have been all created during the reign of Edgar or Alexander I. ; in the second place, the rights possessed by the monks of Dunkeld, to the exclusion of their bishop, proves that the abbas who possessed them all must have been the Culdee abbot of Dunkeld, who was only superseded by the bishop in the reign of David I. ; and thirdly, as we find them all in the crown at such an early period, the king of Scotland must have been that abbot's heir. Now, it is a very remarkable circumstance that these three facts are actually true of the abbot of Dunkeld during the reign of Edgar, for he was Ethelred, Edgar's youngest brother, and he died without issue, so that the king of Scotland was in reality his heir. As the arguments regarding the necessary origin of these three Abthanedoms are thus so remarkably supported by the fact that there did exist at the time a person in whom these requisites are to be found, a fact otherwise so very unlikely to occur, we are warranted in concluding that this was their real origin, and that Ethelred, the abbot of Dunkeld, must have received from his brother Edgar three Thanedoms, which, in consequence, received the peculiar appellation of Abthanedoms, and which, upon his death, fell to the crown. It would also appear that as he was the only abbot of royal blood to whom such a munificent gift would be appropriate, so these were the only Abthanedoms in Scotland. This will likewise account for the appellation given by Fordun to Crinan. At that period there was certainly no such title in Scotland, but it is equally certain that there were no charters, and although Crinan had not the name, he may have been in fact the same thing. He was certainly abbot of Dunkeld, and he may have likewise possessed that extensive territory which, from the same circumstance, was afterwards called the Abthanedom of Dull. Fordun certainly inspected the records of Dunkeld, and the circumstance can only be explained by supposing that Fordun may have there seen the deed granting the Abthanedom of Dull to Ethelred, abbot of Dunkeld, which would naturally state that it had been possessed by his *proavus* crinan, and from which Fordun would conclude that as Crinan possessed the thing, he was also known

by the name of *Abthanus de Dull*. From this, therefore, we learn the very singular fact that that race which gave a long line of Kings to Scotland, were originally lords of that district in Atholl, lying between Strathtay and Rannoch, which was afterwards termed the Abthania de Dull.

Besides the Abthanie of Dull we find that in the reign of Alexander I., nearly the whole of the present district of Braedalbane was in the crown, and these facts leave little room to doubt that the royal family were originally, before their accession to the throne, lords of the greater part of Atholl. Duncan, however, succeeded to the throne in 1034, and at that period the whole of Atholl was under the dominion of the Gallgael. Of this race, then, the descendants of Crinan must unquestionably be, and this is singularly corroborative of the title of Senneschallus *insularum*, likewise given to Crinan by Fordun, and which must have reached Fordun from the same source with that of Abthanus de Dull, and is consequently equally authentic. The exact connexion of Crinan with the family of the Gallgael kings, it would of course be difficult to point out, but it may not be improper to mention that there exists a very old tradition to which other circumstances lead me to attach considerable credit, viz., that Crinan was the son of Kenneth, Thane of the Isles,¹ and if this be true, he would thus be the brother of Suibne, the last regulus of the Gallgael, and by the operation of the Gallic law of tanistry, Duncan might, during his life, have been at the head of this numerous and powerful tribe.

By Edgar, the whole of Atholl, with the exception of Braedalbane, was erected into an earldom and bestowed upon Madach, the son of his father's brother,² and on his death, towards the end of the reign of David I., it was obtained by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Kenmore,³ either because the exclusion of that family from the throne could not deprive them of the original property of the

¹ Ancient History of the Drummonds.

² Orkneyinga Saga.

³ That Malcolm was the son of Duncan is proved by a charter in the

Chartulary of Dunfermline. In that charter Malcolm implies that he was descended of more than one king buried at Dunfermline, which is only possible on this supposition.

family, to which they were entitled to succeed, or as a compensation for the loss of the crown. The earldom was enjoyed in succession by his son Malcolm, and his grandson Henry, and on the death of the latter, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, his granddaughters, by his eldest son, who predeceased him, carried the earldom into the families of Galloway and Hastings, from whom it latterly came to the family of De Strathboggie.¹ When the Celtic earls of Atholl thus became extinct, and in consequence the subordinate clans assumed independence, we find the principal part of Atholl in the possession of the clan Donnachie or Robertsons.

Clan Donnachie.

The tradition which has hitherto been received of this clan, indicates, that they are a branch of the clan Donald, and that Duncan Reamhar, the first of the Robertsons of Struan, was a son of Angus Mor, lord of the Isles. Unfortunately, the Robertsons are not one of the clans noticed in the manuscript of 1450; but nevertheless, that manuscript affords a strong presumption that this tradition is unfounded,—for although it details all the branches of the Macdonalds with great minuteness and accuracy, and especially the descendants of the sons of Angus Mor, it does not include the Robertsons among them, and this presumption will appear the stronger when we consider not only the great extent of territory which this Duncan, as we shall afterwards see, possessed in the district of Atholl, but that the arms of the two families are quite different, and that they do not appear ever to have had any connection, as a clan, with the Macdonalds. There is also another fact which renders it impossible that this Duncan could have been the son of Angus of the Isles, and which consequently throws additional doubt upon the tradition, viz., that in several charters Duncan is designated “*filius Andreae de Atholia*,”² and this designation “*de Atholia*” continued in the family for several generations afterwards.

¹ The peerage writers have been more than usually inaccurate in their account of the earldom of Atholl. From its origin down to the four-

teenth century there is scarcely a single step in the genealogy which is correctly given in the peerage.

² Robertson's Index.

The real descent of the family is indicated by their designation, which was uniformly and exclusively *de Atholia*. It is scarcely possible to conceive, that the mere fact of a stranger possessing a considerable extent of territory in the earldom, should entitle him to use such a designation. *Atholia* was the name of a *comitatus*, and after the accession of David I the *comitatus* was as purely a Norman barony as any *baronia* or *dominium* in the country. It will not be denied that the name of the barony was exclusively used by its possessors and their descendants, and that the possession of a territorial name of barony as surely marks out a descent from some of the ancient barons, as if every step of the genealogy could be proved; and if we turn to the other earldoms in Scotland, we find it to be invariably the case, that those families whose peculiar designation is the name of the earldom, are the male descendants of the ancient earls. Thus the Northern families of "De Ross" can all be traced to the earls of that district, and the case is the same with Sutherland, Mar, Angus, Strathern, Fife, Menteith, and Lenox. The only apparent exception to the rule is in the case of the earldom of Moray, and in that the origin of the family of De Moravia is altogether unknown, so that the probability is equally great that that family is descended from the former earls of Moray, as that they were foreigners. Further, although many families have at different times obtained extensive territories in several of the earldoms, even greater in proportion than those of the Robertsons, yet not a single instance can be found of any of these families assuming a designation from the earldom in which their territories were situated, nor is it possible to produce a single family not descended from the ancient earls who bear the name of the earldom. The designation *De Atholia* thus distinctly indicates a descent from the ancient earls of Atholl, but the history of their lands points to the same result. The possessions of Duncan *de Atholia*, who is considered the first of the Robertsons of Struan, consisted, so far as can be ascertained, of three classes. 1st. Those lands, afterwards erected into the barony of Struan, of which Glenerochie formed the principal part, and which were strictly a male fief. 2d. The barony of Disher and Toyer, comprehending the greater part of the present district

of Braedalbane. 3d. Adulia, or Dullmagarth. By examining the ancient chartularies, it appears that these *last* lands were formerly in the possession of the ancient earls of Atholl, for Malcolm, the third earl, grants the "*Ecclesia de Dull* to St. Andrews,"¹ and this charter was afterwards confirmed by his son, Henry, the last earl.

Now, it will be observed as a remarkable fact, that although the Lowland families who succeeded Henry in the earldom of Atholl, obtained possession of a considerable portion of the earldom by that succession, yet we do not find them in possession of Dull, which, on the contrary, belongs to this family, De Atholia. It is plain that this family could not have acquired these lands by force in the face of the powerful barons who successively obtained the earldom, and as we can only account for its not forming a part of the succession of these earls by supposing Dull to have been a male fief, it follows, of necessity, that the family of De Atholia must have been the heirs male of the family of Atholl.

But the other possessions point still more clearly to the real descent of the family; for there exists in the chartulary of Cupar a charter by Coningus filius Henrici Comitis Atholie to the abbey of Cupar, from which it appears that he was proprietor of Glenerochie; and this charter is confirmed by Eugenius filius Coningi filii Henrici Comitis Atholie, likewise proprietor of Glenerochie. Glenerochie is the same as Strowan, and is included in the charter erecting the possessions of the family into the barony of Strowan; and as Strowan was at all times a male fief, it is scarcely possible to doubt the descent of Duncan De Atholia from Ewen the son of Conan the son of Henry, earl of Atholl. There is a charter, however, which still more clearly proves it. It appears from the chartulary of Inchaffray, that Ewen, the son of Conan, had married Maria, one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of Duncan, the son of Convalt, a powerful baron in Stratherne. Duncan's possessions consisted of Tullibardine and Finach in Stratherne, and of Lethindy in Gowrie; his eldest daughter, Muriel, married Malise, the seneschall of Stratherne, and their daughter, Ada,

¹ Chartulary of St. Andrews.

carried her mother's inheritance, consisting of the half of Tullibardine, the lands of Buchanty, &c., being the half of Finach, and part of Lethindy, to William De Moravia, predecessor of the Murrays of Tullibardine. The other half of these baronies went to Ewen Mac Conan, who married Maria Duncan's youngest daughter. Now, we find that in 1284, this Maria granted her half of Tullibardine to her niece, Ada, and William Moray, her spouse; and in 1443, we find Robert Duncanson, the undoubted ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, designating himself, Dominus de Fynach, and granting his lands of Finach, in Stratherne, consanguineo suo Davidi de Morava Domino de Tullibardine. The descent of the family from Ewen, the son of Conan, the second son of Henry, earl of Athol, the daughters of whose eldest son carried the earldom into Lowland families, is thus put beyond all doubt, and the Strowan Robertsons thus appear to be the male heirs of the old earls of Atholl. Ewen was succeeded by his son, Angus, as I find a charter to Angus filius Eugenii, of part of the barony of Lethendy. About fifty years after, this appears: Duncanus de Atholia filius Andreæ de Atholia; and as Duncan is in tradition invariably styled "Mac Innes," it is probable that this name was derived from this Angus, and that Andrew de Atholia was his son.

From this view of the earlier generations of the clan Donnachie, it would accordingly seem that upon the death of Henry, the last Celtic earl of Atholl, the district of Atholl was divided, and that the eastern part descended in the female line, by the feudal law, while the western and more inaccessible part was divided among the male descendants of the old earls, according to the Highland law of gavel.

Andrew, of whom we know nothing, was succeeded by his son, Duncan, termed *Reamhair*, or Fat. Duncan acquired a great addition to his lands, including the south half of Rannach, by marriage with one of the daughters of a certain Callum Ruaidh, or Malcolm the Red, styled Leamnach, or De Lennox, whom tradition connects closely with the earls of Lennox. Malcolm appears to have been the same person with a Malcolm de Glendochart, who signs Ragman's Roll in 1296, for it is said that the other daughter of Callum Ruaidh married Menzies, and it is certain that the Menzies possessed soon after

Glendochart, and the north half of Rannoch. The descent of Malcolm from the earls of Lennox is probable, for we find John Glendochart witnessing a charter of Malduin, third earl of Lennox, in 1238. Duncan appears to have attained to very considerable power at that time, and to have been in possession of extensive territories in the wilder and more mountainous parts of the district of Atholl. From him the clan took their name of clan Donnachie, and he is still the hero of many traditions in that country. Of Robert de Atholia, his son and successor, we know little. By marriage with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir John Sterling, of Glenesk, he obtained part of that property which his daughter Jean, however, carried into the family of Menzies of Fothergill, and by his second marriage with one of the co-heiresses of Fordell, he appears to have had four sons, Thomas, Duncan, Patrick, ancestor of the family of Lude, and Gibbon. During the life of Thomas we find the first appearance of the clan Donnachie, as a clan, when they played a distinguished part in the raid which the Highlanders made into Angus in 1392, in which Sir Walter Ogilvie, sheriff of Angus, and many other Lowland barons were slain. According to Winton—

“Thre chiftanys gret ware of thaim then
 Thomas, Patrik, and Gibbone,
 Duncansonys wes thare surnowne.”

Thomas had an only daughter, Matilda, who carried part of the property, by marriage, to the family of Robertson of Straloch. The barony of Strowan came to Duncan, Thomas's brother, who is mentioned in 1432, under the designation of “Duncanus de Atholia dominus de Ranagh,” and who was succeeded by his son Robert.

Robert was a person of considerable power, and was held in great dread by the neighbouring Lowlanders, whom he was in the habit of continually harassing by his predatory incursions upon their possessions. Upon the murder of king James I. by the earl of Atholl and his accomplice, Graham, Robert was fortunate enough to arrest Graham, together with the master of Atholl, after the commission of the bloody deed; but any advantage which might have been gained by this act was

thrown away by the reckless chief, who desired nothing more than to have the lands which remained to his family erected into a barony, which was granted to him along with the empty honour of being entitled to carry a man in chains upon his escutcheon, together with the motto of

"Virtutis gloria merces."

The historian of the abbots of Dunkeld relates a curious anecdote connected with the death of this chief of the clan Donnachie. It seems that Robert had some dispute with Robert Forrester, of Torwood, regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld which the laird of Strowan claimed, but which had been feued by the bishop of Dunkeld to Torwood. Robert Reoch had consequently ravaged these lands, but upon one occasion, on his way to Perth, he was met near Auchtergaven by Torwood, and a conflict immediately took place between the parties, in which Robert was mortally wounded on the head. But the hardy chief, heedless of the consequences, and having bound up his head with a white cloth, is said to have ridden in that state to Perth, and there obtained from the king the new grant of his lands of Strowan, as a reward for the capture of the master of Atholl, and on his return to have expired in consequence of the wound which he had received.

Notwithstanding that the remaining possessions of the family of Strowan had been erected into a barony, they were surrounded by far too many powerful neighbours to be able to retain them long. The greater part of the territories which once belonged to them had already found their way into the possession of the grasping barons in their neighbourhood, and being unable, in point of strength, to cope with them, every opportunity was taken still farther to reduce their already diminished possessions. Accordingly, some generations afterwards, the earl of Atholl, taking advantage of a wadset which he possessed over Strowan's lands, which in those days was not an uncommon mode of acquiring property, succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly the half of the estates which remained to them; and notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the transaction, the Robertsons were never afterwards able to recover possession of their lands, or to obtain satisfaction against a nobleman of so much power

and influence. But in spite of the diminished extent of their estates, the Robertsons have been able always to sustain a prominent station among the Highland clans, and to take an active share in every attempt which was made by the Gael of Scotland to replace the descendants of their ancient line of kings on the throne.

The deeds of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, in the insurrection of 1715, as well as his eccentricity of character and poetic talents, have made the name of Strowan Robertson familiar to every one; and although their estates have been three times forfeited, and their name associated with every insurrection of the Gael in Scotland, yet a descendant of that ancient race still holds part of the original possessions of the clan, with the name of Robertson of Strowan.

Arms.

Gules; three wolves' heads erased, argent, armed, and langued, azure.

Badge.

Fern or brakens.

Principal Seat.

Rannoch.

Oldest Cadet.

Robertson of Lude.

Chief.

Robertson of Strowan.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 700.

Clan Pharlan.

This clan is the only one, with the exception perhaps of the clan Donnachie, whose descent from the ancient earls of the district in which their possessions lay, can be proved by charter, and it can be shewn in the clearest manner, that their ancestor was Gilchrist, brother of Maldowen, the third earl of Lennox. There still exists a charter by Maldowen, earl of Lennox, to his brother Gilchrist "de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss," which lands continued in the possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, and had at all times been their principal seat. But while their descent from the earls of Lennox cannot

be doubted, the origin of these earls is a matter of greater difficulty.

The ancient earls of this district have not been fortunate enough to escape the grasp of the modern antiquaries, and they alone of the native earls of Scotland have had a foreign origin assigned to them. The first of the earls of Lennox who appears on record is Aluin comes de Levenax, who is mentioned in the early part of the thirteenth century, and from this Aluin there can be no doubt whatever that the later earls of Lennox were descended. It unfortunately happens, however, that an Aluin Macarchill witnesses a number of charters in the reign of David I., and that in the previous century Ordericus Vitalis, a Saxon writer, had mentioned the flight of a Northumbrian nobleman named Archillus into Scotland, in consequence of the success of William the Conqueror, and although constant tradition asserts the earls of Lennox to be of native origin, this fact was sufficient for our Saxonizing antiquaries unanimously to instal Archillus of Northumberland as the founder of the ancient earls of Lennox.¹ There are two facts, however, which materially interfere with this arrangement. First, several generations intervene between Archillus the Northumbrian, and Archill the father of Aluin. Secondly, as many generations intervene between Aluin Macarchill and Aluin first earl of Lennox, whose identity could only be effected by giving Aluin a long life of 120 years, and a family at the great age of eighty. Moreover, Aluin Macarchill on no occasion appears with the word Comes after his name, a fact of itself sufficient to shew that he had no connexion with any earldom. But, divesting this earldom of these puerile absurdities, its history is perfectly clear. During the life of David I., there is distinct authority for its being no earldom, but having formed a part of the principality of Cumbria. The next notice of Lennox is, that during the reign of Malcolm IV., and a part of that of William the Lion, their brother David, earl of Huntingdon, appears as earl of Lennox. And as Lennox was previously a part of the principality of his grandfather, there can be little doubt that it had been for the first time erected into an earldom in his

¹ The accurate Lord Hailes perceived additional case under Lennox. the absurdity of this descent. See

favour. After his death the next appearance of the earls is contained in two charters : 1st. A charter relating to the church of Campsy, from "*Alywn comes de Levenax, filius et heres Alwini comitis de Levenax, Maldoweni filio et herede nostro concedente.*" 2d. A charter relating to the same subject by "*Maldowen, filius et heres comitis Alwini junioris comites de Levenax et heredes Alwini senioris comitis de Levenax.*"¹ And these charters shew that a certain Aluin had been created Earl of Lennox by William the Lion. Who Aluin was it is almost impossible to determine, and in the absence of all direct authority we are driven to tradition, in this instance a surer guide, for the tradition is supported by documentary evidence. An ancient history of the Drummonds asserts, that the earls of Lennox before they acquired that dignity, were hereditary seneschals of Stratherne, and baillies of the Abthainrie of Dull in Atholl. From the chartulary of Inchaffray, and others, we can trace the hereditary seneschals of Stratherne subsequent to the creation of Aluin as earl of Lennox, but not before ; but it would appear that the later seneschals were a branch of an older family, who had possessed that office, and had been advanced to a higher dignity, for these hereditary offices invariably went according to the strict rules of feudal succession, and consequently remained at all times in the head of the family, but if the possessor of them was advanced to a higher dignity, incompatible with their retention, and had possessed more than one such hereditary office, they were in general separated, and given to different branches of the family. Now we find, that of the later seneschals of Stratherne, one branch possessed the seneschalship, and another branch the office of baillie of the Abthainrie of Dull ; there must therefore have been an older family in possession of both of these hereditary offices, who had been advanced to a higher dignity ; and that that family was that of the earls of Lennox appears from the fact, that the later baillies of the Abthainrie of Dull possessed the lands of Finlarig, in the barony of Glendochart, and held them as vassals of Malcolm de Glendochart, who was, as we have seen, a cadet of the earls of Lennox. This connexion of the Lennox family

¹ Napier's Partition of the Lennox.

with the crown lands in Braedalbane warrants us, in the absence of other evidence, in placing the family of Lennox under the title of Atholl, and this is confirmed by the fact, that the only possessions which we can trace in the family of the earls of Lennox, or their cadets out of that earldom, were all in Braedalbane, and that we find them in possession of these lands from the earliest period.

Aluin was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name. This earl is very frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and he died before the year 1225, leaving nine sons. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maldowen, and among the other sons there appear to have been only two who left any male descendants. Aulay was founder of the family of Fassalane, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom by marriage with the heiress of the last earl, and Gilchrist obtained possession of the northern portion of the district of Lennox, and became progenitor of the clan Pharlan, or that of the Macfarlanes. Maldowen, the third earl, appears to have lived till about the year 1270, and he surrendered to the king the stronghold of Dumbarton, which had previously been the principal seat of the family. Of the fourth and fifth earls, both of whom bore the name of Malcolm, little is known; their names, together with those of the earlier earls, having only been perpetuated in consequence of their numerous donations of land to the various ecclesiastical establishments. The latter earl was killed at Halidon Hill, in 1333, and in his son Donald the male line of this branch of the family became extinct. Margaret, countess of Lennox, the only daughter of Donald, the sixth earl, married Walter de Fasselane, the heir male of the family, but any attempt to preserve the honours and power of the Lennox in the family proved unsuccessful, for Duncan, the eighth earl, their son, had no male issue, and his eldest daughter, Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, duke of Albany, he became involved along with his family in the ruin by which the house of Albany was overwhelmed. The honours and estates of Lennox were not, however, forfeited, but were possessed by Isabella, the widow of Duke Murdoch of Albany, under the title of Countess of Lennox, until her death in 1460; and on her decease the

earldom was claimed by three families—those of Napier of Merchiston, and Haldane of Gleneagles, the co-heirs of her second sister Margaret, and that of Stewart of Darnley, who represented the youngest sister Elizabeth. It would be unnecessary here to enter into any detail of the measures by which the Darnley family at length succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and acquiring the title of Earl of Lennox; suffice it to say, that they had finally accomplished this object in 1488. The earldom of Lennox having thus fallen into the possession of a Norman family, the clans which had formerly been united under the rule of the old earls, now became separate and independent, and the principal of these was the clan Pharlane or Macfarlanes.

The Macfarlanes were descended from Gilchrist, a younger brother of Malduin, earl of Lennox. This Gilchrist appears frequently as a witness to many of the Lennox charters, in which he is generally designated "frater Comitis." Duncan, his son, also obtained a charter of his lands from the earl of Lennox, in which the earl ratifies and confirms "*Donationem illam quam Malduinus avus meus comes de Lennox fecit Gilchristo fratri suo de terris superioris Arrochar de Luss.*" Duncan appears in Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Mac Gilchrist de Sevenaghes." From a grandson of Duncan, termed Bartholomew, or in Gaelic, *Parlan*, the clan took their surname of Macfarlane, and the connexion of Parlan with Duncan and Gilchrist is sufficiently proved by a charter to Malcolm Macfarlan, or Parlan's son. This charter proceeds upon the resignation of his father, Bartholomew, son of Malduin, and confirms to Malcolm the lands of Arrochar and others, "*Adeo libere plenarie quiete et honorifice in omnibus et per omnia sicut carta originalis facta per antecessores nostros antecessoribus dicti Malcolmi;*" and from this Malcolm Macfarlane the whole clan are descended. To Malcolm succeeded his son Duncan, sixth laird of Macfarlane, who obtained from Duncan, earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Arrochar, in as ample manner as his predecessors held the same, which is dated at Inchmirin in the year 1395. This Duncan, laird of Macfarlane, was married to Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, as appears from a charter

by Duncan, earl of Lennox, confirming a different charter granted by Duncan, laird of Macfarlane, in favour of Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, his wife, of the lands of Ceanlochlong, Inverioch, Glenluin, Portcable, &c. This charter is dated also in the year 1395. It was not long after the death of Duncan that the ancient line of the earls of Lennox became extinct, and there is strong reason for thinking that the Macfarlanes claimed the earldom as heirs male, and offered a strong resistance to the actual occupation of the earldom of Lennox by the feudal heirs. This resistance, however, suffered the usual fate of the assertion of their rights by the Celts; and the final establishment of the Stewarts as earls of Lennox appears to have been preceded by the dispersion and almost entire destruction of this clan. The family of the chief fell in the defence of what they conceived to be their rights, and a great part of the clan took refuge in distant parts of the kingdom. The ruin of the clan, however, was prevented by the opportune support given by one of its houses to the Darnley family; and its head, Andrew Macfarlane, having married the daughter of John Stewart, lord of Darnley and earl of Lennox, saved the rest of the clan from destruction, and was put in possession of the greater part of their former possessions. Andrew Macfarlane does not appear, however, to have had a natural title to the chiefship, other than that of being the only person in a condition to afford them protection for the clan refused him the title of chief; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, in a charter to a William Macfarlane, designates himself *honorabilis vir Johannes Macfarlane, dominus ejusdem, miles Capitaneus* de clan Pharlane, *filius Andreæ*. After this, the Macfarlanes appear to have supported the Lowland earls of Lennox on all occasions, and to have followed their standard to the field. Little is consequently known of their history for some generations, and they appear to have continued to enjoy undisturbed possession of their ancient property under the powerful protection of these great barons.

In the sixteenth century we find Duncan Macfarlane of that ilk frequently mentioned as a steady adherent of Mathew, earl of Lennox. He joined the earls of Lennox and Glencairn in the year 1544, with three hundred men of his own surname, and

was present with them at the unfortunate battle of Glasgow Muir. Macfarlane also shared in the ruinous forfeiture which followed that event, but being afterwards restored through the intercession of his friends, he obtained a remission under the privy seal, which is still extant. The loss of this battle obliged the Earl of Lennox to retire to England, and having there married a niece of king Henry VIII., he soon after returned with some English forces, which he had obtained from that monarch. On this occasion the chief of Macfarlane did not dare to join the earl in person, but nevertheless his assistance was not wanting, for he sent his relative, Walter Macfarlane, of Tarbet, with four hundred men to join him. According to Holinshed, "In these explaytes the erle had with him Walter Macfarlane, of Tarbet, and seven score of men of the head of Lennox, that spake the Irishe and the English Scottish tongues, light footmen, well armed in shirtes of mayle, with bows and two-handed swords; and being joined with English archers and shotte, did much avaylable service in the streyghts, mareshes, and mountayne countryes."

This Duncan is reported to have been slain, with a number of his clan, at the fatal battle of Pinkey, in 1547. His son Andrew was not less active in the civil wars of the period, and took a very prominent part on the side of the Regent, exhibiting in this instance a contrast to almost all the other Highland chiefs. Holinshed again records the name of Macfarlane as being distinguished for bravery, for in describing the battle of Langside, he says, "In this battle the valliance of ane Highland gentleman named Macfarlane stood the Regent's part in great stead, for in the hottest brunte of the fight he came in with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and so manfully gave in upon the flank of the queen's people, that he was a great cause of disordering of them." The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of queen Mary's standards, which they say were preserved for a long time in the family. The reward obtained by the Macfarlanes for their services upon this occasion, was of the usual substantial nature of the royal rewards of those services when merited. The Regent bestowed upon them the crest of a demi-savage proper, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and

pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown or, with the motto, "This I'll defend."

Walter Macfarlane, the grandson of this chief, seems to have been as sturdy an adherent as his grandfather had been an opponent to the royal party. He was twice besieged in his own house during Cromwell's time, and his castle of Inveruglas burnt to the ground by the English, his losses on the one side being of a somewhat more substantial character than his grandfather's rewards on the other had been.

It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane, of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The most extensive and valuable collections which his industry has been the means of preserving form the best monument to his memory, and as long as the existence of the ancient records of the country, or a knowledge of its ancient history, remain an object of interest to any Scotsman, the name of Macfarlane will be handed down as one of its benefactors. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years.

Arms.

Argent, a saltier engrailed, cantoned with four roses gules.

Badge.

Cloudberry bush.

Principal Seat.

Arrochar, at the head of Lochlong.

Chief.

After 1493 the family of Macfarlane of Macfarlane were captains of the clan. The representative of the old chief is unknown.

CHAPTER VI.

II.—MORAY.

THE Maormors of Moray were, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, by far the most powerful chiefs in Scotland ;
Moray. their immense territories extended from the eastern nearly to the western seas, and their power and influence over the whole of the north of Scotland. They were the only chiefs who attempted, during this period to resist the encroachments of the Norwegians, and although that resistance was unsuccessful, yet in consequence of a connexion which was formed between the head of their race, and the Norwegian earl, the very success of the Norwegians ultimately contributed to increase the power of the Maormors of Moray, and to extend over Scotland the tribes dependent upon them. Three of these Maormors succeeded in attaining the crown of Scotland, and until the fall of their race, before the increasing power of the kings of the line of Malcom Kenmore, they may be considered as kings of the Highlands.

It has been previously remarked, that the Highland clans are divided by the old Highland genealogies into five great classes, and that one of these consists of the Macphersons, Macintoshes, and Macnaughtans ; to these there is reason to add, as we shall afterwards see, the Camerons, Macleans, Macmillans, and Monroes ; and this great division, which extends from Inverness even as far as Cowall and Kintyre, is proved by the same manuscript to be descended from the ancient inhabitants of Moray, for among the genealogies of these clans, it contains the genealogy of the ancient Maormors of Moray, and connects the other clans with that line. The old name of this tribe has also been preserved to us by Tighernac, who calls Finlay Macrory, who was undoubtedly Maormor of Moray, "Maormor mhic Croeb." By the defeat and death of Donald Macmalcolm, king of Scot-

land, and Maolsnectan Maclulaigh, king of Moray, by Malcolm Kenmore in the year 1085, the line of the ancient Maormors seems to have become extinct, and from that period the consequence of that powerful tribe began to decline. After the death of Maolsnectan, the first person whom we find in possession of this district is Angus, who in the Ulster Annals, is styled earl of Moray and son of Lulach's daughter ; Lulach was the father of Maolsnechtan, and Angus was thus the son of his sister.

Although these annals do not mention who this Angus was, yet we are enabled, by the assistance of the invaluable MS. so often quoted, to discover that he was the head of an ancient branch of the same family, for when Wimund, the English monk, who claimed the earldom of Moray in the reign of David II., asserted that he was the son of this Angus, he assumed in consequence the name of Malcolm Macheth. As his supposed father's name was Angus, it is plain that the name Macheth which he assumed, was Angus's family name, particularly as Wimund's son, Kenneth, also called himself Kenneth Macheth. Among the Comites, however, who witness charters in the first years of David the First's reign appears frequently Head, Hed, and Ed, with the word "Comes" after it, and he appears along with the earls of almost all the other earldoms, so that he could scarcely have been earl of any other district than Moray. His date is circa 1125, Angus is killed in 1130, and if we add the fact of Angus's family name being Macheth, there can be little doubt that Head was his father, and the husband of Lulach's daughter, and that from him his descendants took the name of Macheth. At this period, feudal succession, by which alone Head could have derived any right from his wife, was altogether unknown in Scotland, and as he was the first of the Maormors of Moray who exchanged that name for the Saxon title of earl, it follows of necessity that his right to the position of Maormor must have been derived through the Highland law of succession ; we should therefore expect to find this earl the head of some family closely connected with the former earls, to whom the earldom could have come by the operation of a strictly male succession.

It so happens, however, that the grandson of Gillichattan, the founder of the clan Chattan, by far the most important of those clans, whose descent from the ancient Maormors of Moray is

established by the manuscript, is called by the manuscript, Heth, and that from a calculation of generations he is exactly contemporary with the children of Lulach. As this is so very uncommon a name, there can be little doubt, but that Heth was the same person who was the father of Angus, and who married the daughter of Lulach, and that he was hereditary chief of clan Chattan, the principal branch of the Moray tribe. He thus possessed a title to the earldom of Moray from his own descent, as well as from his connexion with the family of the previous Maormors. The tribes of Moray had no sooner in some degree recovered their strength after the blow they had received in the reign of Malcolm Kenmore, than their new Maormor commenced that course of determined opposition to the government of the feudal successors of Malcolm, which was not finally overcome for upwards of a hundred years, and the same adherence to the rights of the heirs of the throne, according to the Highland principles of succession, which the former Maormors had maintained for their own.

The attempt of the Moray tribes in the reign of Alexander I., which must have taken place during the possession of the earldom by Head, has already been alluded to, and on the death of Alexander I., a still more formidable attempt was made by Angus the next earl, in the reign of his successor David I., in the year 1130, when Angus, after having obtained possession of the northern districts of Scotland, advanced at the head of a numerous army into Forfarshire. At this time it appears that David was at the court of Henry, king of England, but Edward, the son of earl Seward, led an army into Scotland with which he defeated and slew the earl of Moray at Strickathrow, and after this event David seems to have taken the most prompt measures to quell the Moravians. In consequence of these measures the Moravians remained quiet for the unusual period of upwards of twelve years, but at the end of that time they were again excited to revolt by one of the most singular occurrences of the history of that period.

A. D. 1180.

An English monk, who had hitherto been known under the name of Wimund, and who had risen to be bishop of Man, suddenly announced himself to be the son of Angus, earl of Moray, who had been slain at Strickathrow, and thereupon pre-

pared to assert his right to that earldom. Having collected together some ships in the Isle of Man, and having been joined by numerous adventurers, he appeared among the Western Isles, where he was immediately received by Somerled, A.D. 1142. who, actuated either by policy or conviction, acknowledged his right, and also evinced his sincerity by bestowing upon him his sister in marriage. Wimund, having assumed the name of Malcolm Macheth, now proceeded to invade the shores of Scotland, where he was joined by many of the northern chiefs, and even received the support of the Norwegian earl of Orkney, who declared him to be the earl of Moray, and married his sister. The assistance of the northern chiefs, and the natural advantages which the mountainous character of the country afforded to the prosecution of his enterprise, enabled Wimund for several years to sustain a war with David I. of Scotland, retiring to the mountains or to his ships when pressed by the royal army, and again renewing his depredations as soon as it was withdrawn. At length, however, he was betrayed and delivered up to David, who, in the spirit of eastern barbarity, caused his eyes to be put out, and imprisoned him in Rokesburgh Castle.

Historians have generally considered Wimund to be an impostor; but when, in addition to the improbability of any such imposition having either been conceived or likely to have been attempted with any prospect of success, we reflect, that the circumstance of his assuming the name of Malcolm Macheth proves at least that Angus had children, and if so, that they must of necessity have fled from the wrath of David; that Wimund not only received assistance from the Gaelic chiefs, but even from the earl of Orkney, all of them openly countenancing his pretensions; and that in the Norse Sagas he is distinctly styled Malcolm, earl of Moray, without any surmise of his title to that dignity being doubtful or called in question by any one at the time,—we must admit that Wimund's claim may have been well founded.

When Wimund fell into the hands of his opponent, his sons appear to have sought refuge with Somerled, their uncle; and that ambitious chief seems to have made their cause a pretext upon several occasions for invading Scotland. But as these

invasions were generally succeeded by a peace, they were not productive of any advantage to his nephews. One of these youths, named Donald, was, in the year 1156, discovered lurking in Galloway, where he was secured, and imprisoned along with his father in Rokesburgh Castle. In the following year Malcolm appears to have come to terms with Wimund, who, upon being released from prison, resumed the cowl, and retired to the monastery of Biland, in Yorkshire.

But there still remained one of the sons of Wimund at liberty, whose name was Kenneth, and who, undeterred by the fate of his father and brother, resolved to make another attempt for the recovery of his inheritance ; and taking advantage of the insurrection of the Scottish earls in favour of William of Egremont, he easily succeeded in exciting the Moravians once more to revolt. The unexpected success with which Malcolm crushed the conspiracy enabled him likewise, after a violent struggle, effectually to subdue these restless assailants ; and in order to prevent the recurrence of farther insurrections upon the part of the Moravians, he resolved to reduce their strength by removing many of the hostile clans, and peopling the districts with strangers. The inhabitants of the northern portion were principally either driven out or removed to the crown lands of Braedalbane, in Perthshire, and the conquered district was bestowed upon the Norman families of Bisset, Thirlstane, and Lauder. A great part of the present county of Elgin was likewise depopulated, and strangers introduced, among whom was the Flemish family of Innes, while the whole earldom was bestowed upon the earl of Mar.

By these measures the Moravians were so completely crushed, that during the remainder of this and the following reign, they did not again attempt to disturb the peace of the country. Kenneth in the meantime having made his escape after his defeat by Malcolm, and hopeless of obtaining farther support in Scotland, took refuge in Ireland, and solicited assistance from the Irish. He was there joined by Donald Macwilliam, who claimed the throne of Scotland in right of his great-grandfather, Duncan, Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son, and having collected a numerous body of Irish followers, the two adventurers proceeded to invade Scotland, and made an inroad

into Moray. They were there met by Ferchard
 A.D. 1214. Macantagart, the earl of Ross, who had judged it prudent for him to join the king's party; the invaders were defeated, and both of the leaders slain. By this defeat, and the consequent death of Kenneth, it appears that the family of Angus became extinct; but the Highland law of succession had the effect of transmitting the claims of the family, together with the chiefship of the whole tribe, to the next branch of the clan,

and accordingly we find that thirteen years after this
 A.D. 1228. event, a certain Gillespic¹ raised another insurrection in Moray. In his progress he burned some wooden castles which had probably been erected for the purpose of containing garrisons to overawe the country; he surprised and slew a baron called Thomas of Thirlstane, to whom Malcolm IV. had given the district of Abertarff, and afterwards burnt Inverness. The king proceeded against him in person, but unsuccessfully; and in the following year William Comyn, earl of Buchan, then justiciary of Scotland, marched with his numerous vassalage upon the same enterprise, dispersed the insurgents, and slew Gillespic with his two sons. As we find that, immediately after this event, Walter Comyn, the son of the earl of Buchan, becomes possessed of the districts of Badenoch and Lochaber, while it is certain that these districts were previously possessed by the natives, we cannot doubt that this Gillespic was lord of that extensive territory, and that on his death Comyn received a grant of them from the crown as the reward of his services in suppressing the insurrection and slaying its head. Alexander II. followed up this success by his usual policy, and erected the portion of the earldom of Moray, which was not now under the stern rule of the Bissets, Comyns, and other Norman barons, into the separate sheriffdoms of Elgin and Nairn. The authority of government was thus so effectually established, that the Moravians did not again attempt any further resistance; and thus ended with the death of Gillespic, the last of that series of persevering efforts which the earls of Moray had made for upwards of one hundred years to preserve their native inheritance.

¹This Gillespic has been most improperly confounded with Gillespic mac Scolane, of the Mac William family, slain in 1221. Fordun, the only authority for both rebellions, carefully distinguishes between them.

The extinction of the native earls of Moray now threw the various clans formerly united under their sway into independence, and the most powerful of these was the clan Chattan.

Clan Chattan.

When the almost universal extinction of the Highland earls threw the Highland clans into the independent and disunited state in which they latterly existed, we find few of them in possession of such extensive territories as the clan Chattan. The whole of Badenoch, with greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, were inhabited by the various septs of this clan, and previous to the grant made to Comyn, these districts were held of the crown by the chief of the clan.

From the earliest period this clan has been divided into two great branches, respectively following as leaders Macpherson of Cluny and Macintosh of Macintosh, both of whom claim the chiefship of the whole tribe. The descent of the former family from the old chiefs of the clan has never been doubted, but the latter family has hitherto considered itself as possessing a different descent from the rest of the clan Chattan. The earl of Fife, of the name of Macduff, is claimed as its ancestor, alleging that the chiefship of the clan Chattan was obtained about the end of the thirteenth century by marriage with Eva, the daughter and heiress of Gillepatrick, the son of Dugall dall, son of Gillichattan, and chief of the clan.

But independently of the manifest unlikelihood of a tale so clearly opposed to the Highland principles of succession and clanship, the mere fact of this family styling themselves captains of the clan, claiming a foreign origin, and asserting a marriage with the heiress of its chief, leads to the strong presumption that they were the oldest cadets of the clan, by whom the chiefship had been usurped, while the manuscript of 1450 puts it beyond doubt that this story is not only an invention, but one subsequent to the date of the MS., and that the Macintoshes are as radically a branch of the clan Chattan as the Macphersons; for that invaluable record of Highland genealogies deduces the Macphersons and the Macintoshes from two brothers, sons of Gillecattan Mor, the great founder of the clan

Chattan. That there has long existed a keen dispute with regard to the chiefship of the clan Chattan between the Macphersons and Macintoshes is certain ; and while the Macphersons have hitherto rested their claims upon tradition alone, the Macintoshes have triumphantly brought forward charters and documents of every description in support of their alleged title. But the case is now altered ; and the investigations which we have made into the history of the tribe of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland tradition, shew that the fact of the Macphersons being the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of clan Chattan rests upon historic authority, and that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them.

The MS. of 1450 puts it beyond all doubt that the Macphersons and the Macintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillechattan Mor, the founder of the race ; while the title of captain, the assertion of a foreign origin, and of a marriage with the heiress of the former chiefs, as certainly point out that the Macintoshes were a usurping branch, and that the Macphersons, whose descent from the old chiefs is not denied, alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity. The history of the earls of Moray is equally conclusive, that the descendants of Neachtan, from whom the Macphersons deduce their origin, were the eldest branch and chiefs of the clan. The son of Neachtan is Head, or Heth, and although he married the sister of the last Maormor of Moray, yet, that in his own person he possessed a right to the earldom independently of his marriage, appears from the fact that he must have succeeded in 1085, before the title of earl or the feudal succession was introduced. His grandson, by his eldest son, Angus, was Malcolm Macheth, whose title to the earldom and consequently to the chiefship of his clan was acknowledged by all the Gaelic part of the population of Scotland, and even by the Norwegian earl of Orkney, while his grandson by his younger son, Suibne, was Muirich, from whom the Macphersons take their name of the clan Vuirich. On the death of the last descendant of Angus, his claims were

taken up by Gillespic, and as he unquestionably possessed the districts of Badenoch and Lochaber before the feudal barons acquired possession of it, he must have been chief of the clan Chattan, the ancient possessors of these districts. This is singularly corroborated by the fact that the oldest traditions styled Gillichattan the grandfather of Gillipatrick, whose daughter is said to have married Macintosh, Mac Gillespic, or son of Gillespic, while he must have lived at that very time. Gillespic was certainly not a descendant of Angus, earl of Moray, but his claim to the earldom proves that he must have been a descendant of Head. The identity of the Macheth family with the chiefs of the clan Chattan is therefore clearly established, and, at the same time, the descent of the clan Vuirich, or Macphersons, from these chiefs, is proved by the MS. of 1450.

This statement, supported as it is by the MS., and by documentary evidence of an antiquity far greater than any which the Macintoshes can produce, at once establishes the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of clan Chattan, and that of the Macintoshes to their original position of oldest cadets of the clan.

The circumstances which led to the establishment of the Macintoshes as captains of clan Chattan can likewise be traced, and tend still more strongly to confirm the position which has been adopted.

As the whole territory of Moray was at this period in the possession of different Lowland barons, in virtue of their feudal rights only, we know but little of the history of the various clans inhabiting that district till the fourteenth century ; nevertheless it is certain that the clan Chattan, with its different clans, continued to acknowledge the rule of one common chief as late as that period ; for the historian, John Major, after mentioning that the two tribes of the clan Chattan and clan Cameron had deserted Alexander of the Isles after his defeat by King James I., in the year 1429, adds, " These two tribes are of the same stock, and followed *one head of their race as chief.*" From other sources we know that these clans were at this time separate from each other, and were actually engaged in mutual hostilities. But, notwithstanding, the passage distinctly proves

that these clans had very shortly before followed one chief as head of their respective races.

It appears, therefore, that some event must have occurred about this time to occasion disunion among the different branches of the clan, and it is impossible to avoid being struck with the remarkable coincidence in point of time between this rupture and the singular conflict between the chosen champions of the two clans upon the North Inch of Perth, in the year 1396, which the works of Sir Walter Scott have recently made so generally familiar, but which has nevertheless baffled every enquirer into its cause or as to the lineage of its actors.

According to the oldest authorities the names of these clans were *clan Yha* and the *clan Quhele*, not the clan Kay and the clan Chattan, as they have generally been called. At the end of the contest it was found that only one of the clan Yha had survived, while eleven of the clan Quhele were still existing, although severely wounded, upon which it was determined by the king that the clan Qubele were the victors. Now there are but three clans in which any tradition of this conflict is to be found, that of the Camerons, the Macphersons, and the Macintoshes, and it is obvious that the memory of so remarkable a circumstance could never have been suffered to escape the enduring character of Highland tradition. The circumstances which attended the conflict, however, clearly indicate the Macphersons and the Macintoshes as the actors. From the brief but contemporary accounts which have reached us we can only learn two facts connected with its cause; first that the dispute had broken out very shortly before, and secondly, that the singular mode of determining it was carried into effect by Sir David Lindsay and the earl of Moray. In ascertaining who the clans were who were engaged in this conflict, we must therefore look for some change in their situation immediately before the conflict, and for some especial connexion with the two noblemen who were principally interested in it. These are to be found in the clan Chattan only; for, first, by the death of the Wolfe of Badenoch, in 1394, that district, which was nearly equally inhabited by the Macphersons and the Macintoshes, came in to the crown, and thus those clans were suddenly relieved, but two years

before the conflict, from the oppressive government of that ferocious baron ; and the attention of the clan would be at once turned from the necessity of defending themselves from the tyranny of their feudal superior, to their own dissensions, which, if such existed among them, would then break out ; and secondly, it so happens, that at that very period, the remaining possessions of these two families were held of these two barons, as their feudal superiors, the Macphersons holding the greater part of Strathnairn, under Sir David Lindsay, and the Macintoshes being vassals of the Earl of Moray, in Strathdearn. Every circumstance, therefore, leads us to suppose the Macphersons and Macintoshes to have been the parties engaged in that celebrated conflict. Soon after this period the chief of the Macintoshes assumes the title of captain of clan Chattan, but the Macphersons have always resisted that claim of precedence, and at this period also, the Camerons seem to have separated from the clan Chattan. I am inclined to assume from these circumstances that the Macintoshes were the *clan Quhele*. In the MS. of 1450, the Macphersons are stated to be descended of a son of Heth, and brother of Angus, earl of Moray, and it will be observed, that the name, Heth, is a corruption of the same Gaelic name which has been changed by these historians to *Yha*. Clan Heth must have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons, and it follows, that they were the *clan Yha* of the conflict. The leader of the clan Yha is styled by the old authorities, Sha Fercharson, that of the clan Quhele, Gilchrist Johnstone, and in the old MS. histories of the Macintoshes we find Gilchrist Mac Jan, at the period, while, according to the MS. of 1450, the chief of the Macphersons was Shaw, and his great-grandfather's name is Ferchar, from whom he probably took the patronymic of Fercharson. From all this we may reasonably deduce, that previous to the fifteenth century the various tribes forming the clan Chattan obeyed the rule of one chief, the lineal descendant and representative of Gillecattan Mor, the founder of the clan Chattan ; that in consequence of the rebellion of Gillespie, then chief of that race, the territories of the principal branch were forfeited and given to the Comyn, and consequently that the family of the chief gradually sunk in power, while that

of the oldest cadet of the clan, *i.e.*, Macintosh, who was in consequence, after the chief, the most powerful, and whose principal lands were held under the easy tenure of the bishop of Moray and the good earl of Moray, gradually rose in power, until at length they claimed the chiefship, and from this cause arose the first disunion among the branches of this extensive tribe.

They became divided into distinct factions; on the one side there was ranged the Macphersons and their dependants, together with the Camerons; on the other side were the Macintoshes, with the numerous families who had sprung from that branch of the clan Chattan; and they were about to settle their difference by open war, when the interference of Sir David Lindsay and the earl of Moray produced the extraordinary conflict which resulted in the defeat of the faction adhering to the family of the ancient chiefs, and to the establishment of the Macintoshes as captains of clan Chattan.

In this manner the Macintoshes became the *de facto* chiefs of the clan, and consequently acquired the title of Captain, a title which at once indicates the absence of any right by blood to the chiefship, and from this very circumstance is their name derived; Toshoch being unquestionably the title anciently applied to the oldest cadets of the different clans, and having no connexion whatever with the Saxon title of Thane, as has generally been asserted.

The conflict by which they finally established themselves in the power and dignity of head of the clan Chattan took place in 1396. From this period until the latter part of the sixteenth century, they remained, as leader of the clan, willingly followed by the cadets of their own house, and exacting obedience from the other branches of the clan, often refused, and only given when they were in no condition to resist. Soon after this period, they appear to have become dependent upon the lords of the Isles, and to have followed them in all their expeditions.

The first of the Macintoshes who appears in the records, is Malcolm Macintosh, who obtained from the lord of the Isles, in 1447, a grant of the office of baillic or steward of the lordship of Lochaber; and the same office was given to

his son, Duncan Macintosh, in 1466, along with the lands of Keppoch, and others in Lochaber.

It is probable that he likewise obtained from the same lord that part of Lochaber lying between Keppoch and Lochaber, for, on the forfeiture of the lord of the Isles in 1475, he obtained a charter from James III.: "Duncano Macintosh, capitano de clan Chattan, terrarum de Moymore, Fern, Chamglassen, Stroneroy, Auchenheroy, &c.," dated 4 July, 1476; and afterwards, in 1493, he obtained a charter from James IV., "terrarum de Keppoch Innerorgan, &c., cum officio Ballivatus earundem."

Macintosh having probably rendered the government considerable assistance on that occasion, these grants were the cause of long and bitter feuds between the Macintoshes and the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the actual occupiers of the land.

From this period may be dated the commencement of the rise of the Macintoshes to the great influence and consideration which they afterwards possessed. Two causes, however, combined to render their progress to power slow and difficult, and at times even to reduce the clan to considerable apparent difficulties. These causes were—first, the dissensions among the Macintoshes themselves; and, secondly, the continued feud which they had with Huntly, in consequence of their strict adherence to the Earl of Moray. The dissensions in the clan commenced in the early part of the sixteenth century, with the accession of William Macintosh, of Dunnachton, to the chiefship. His title to that dignity appears to have been opposed by John Roy Macintosh, the head of another branch of the family; and after having in vain attempted to wrest the chiefship by force from William, John Roy at length murdered him at Inverness, in the year 1515. The perpetrator of this treacherous deed did not, however, attain his object, for, having been closely pursued by the followers of William Macintosh, he was overtaken at Glenesk and slain, while Lachlan, the brother of the murdered chief, was placed in possession of the government of the clan. But Lachlan was doomed to experience the same fate as his brother, for, according to Lesly, "sum wicked persones being impatient of

vertuous leving, stirrit up ane of his awn principal kynnesmen, callit James Malcolmsone, quha cruellie and treasonable slew his said chief." On Lachlan's death, his son was under age, and therefore the clan, in accordance with the ancient system of succession, chose Hector, a bastard brother, to be their chief.

The Earl of Moray, who was the young chief's uncle, became alarmed for his safety, and, in order to secure him against his brother's ambition, he carried him off, to be brought up by his mother's relations. But Hector was determined to repossess himself of the person of the young heir, and with that view invaded the lands of the Earl of Moray, at the head of the clan. He besieged the Castle of Pettv, which he took, and put the Ogilvies, to whom it belonged, to the sword. Upon this, the Earl obtained a commission from the King, and having raised his retainers, he attacked the Macintoshes, and seized 300 of them, whom he instantly executed. Hector escaped, and fled to the King, to whom he surrendered himself, and received from him a remission of his former offences, but he was soon after slain in St. Andrews, and the young heir, William Macintosh, after having been brought up by the Earl of Moray, was put in possession of his inheritance.

According to Leslie, "William wes sua well braught up be the meanes of the earl of Murray and the laird of Phindlater, in vertue, honestie, and civil policye, that after he had received the government of his countrie, he was a mirrour of vertue to all the Heiland captains in Scotland; bot fortune did envye his felicitie, and the wicket practises of the dissoluit lives of his awne kin sufferit him nocht to remaine long amang them; bot the same factious companie that raise againis his fader wes the cause of his destructionne."

Soon after the accession of William Macintosh to the chiefship, the feud between the Macintoshes and the earls of Huntly commenced, and it appears to have been instigated by the acts of Lachlan Macintosh, the son of the murderer of the last chief, who had been received into favour, but who was still bent on the destruction of the family of the chief. But however the feud may have originated, a subject upon which the accounts given in the different families are much at variance, it would

appear that Macintosh commenced the hostilities by surprising and burning the castle of Auchindoun. Huntly immediately moved against the clan with all the retainers which his extensive territories could furnish, and a fierce though short struggle ensued, in which any clan less powerful than the Macintoshes would have been completely crushed ; as it was, Macintosh found himself so unequal to sustain the conflict, that, despairing of obtaining any mercy from Huntly, he determined to apply to his lady, and for that purpose presented himself before her at a time when Huntly was absent, and surrendered himself to her will. The marchioness, however, was as inexorable as her husband could have been, and no sooner saw Macintosh within her power, than she caused his head to be struck off.

The death of William Macintosh occasioned no farther loss to the clan, but, on the contrary, relieved them from the continuance of the prosecution of the feud with Huntly ; for that nobleman found himself immediately opposed by so strong a party of the nobility who were related to Macintosh, that he was obliged to cease from farther hostilities against them, and also to place the son of the murdered chief in possession of the whole of his father's territories. The government afterwards found the advantage of restoring Macintosh to his patrimony, and preserving so powerful an opponent to Huntly in the north ; for when the Queen nearly fell into Huntly's hands at Inverness, in 1562, when that ambitious nobleman wished to compel her majesty to marry his second son, John Gordon, of Findlater, the timely assistance of Macintosh assisted in defeating this plan. Soon after this, the feud between Huntly and Macintosh once more broke out, and this circumstance was the cause of the final separation of the Macphersons from the Macintoshes, and the loud assertion by the former of their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained ; for Huntly, unable to meet the united force of the clan Chattan, took advantage in the claims of the Macphersons to cause a division of the clan, and in consequence of the support of this powerful nobleman, the Macphersons were enabled to assert their right to the chiefship, and to declare themselves independent of the Macintoshes, if they could not compel the latter to acknowledge them as their chief. The history of the

Macphersons, posterior to the unfortunate conflict on the North Inch of Perth, becomes exceedingly obscure. As they hold their lands of subject superiors, we lose the assistance of the records to guide us, neither do they appear in history independently of the rest of the clan. And it is only when, at a late period, they began to assert their claims to the chiefship, that they again emerge from the darkness by which their previous history was obscured. Previous to this period, finding themselves in point of strength altogether unable to offer any opposition to the Macintoshes, they had yielded an unwilling submission to the head of that family, and had followed him as the leader of the clan; but even during this period they endeavoured to give to that submission as much as might be of the character of a league, and as if their adherence was in the capacity of an ally, and not as a dependent branch of the clan. In consequence of Huntly's support, they now declared themselves independent, and refused all further obedience to the captain of clan Chattan, as Macintosh has been styled.

In this they succeeded as long as the feud continued between Huntly and Macintosh, but when at length Huntly became reconciled to his adversary, and consequently gave up his unfortunate ally Macpherson, when he could derive no further benefit from him, the Macphersons found themselves unable to withstand Macintosh, and many of them were obliged in 1609 to sign a bond, along with all the other branches of the clan Chattan, acknowledging Macintosh as their chief. But the long continued hostilities, in which Macintosh soon after became engaged with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, enabled Macpherson again to separate from him; and during the whole of these wars Macintosh was obliged to accept of his assistance as of that of an ally merely, until at length, in 1672, Duncan Macpherson, of Cluny, threw off all connexion with Macintosh, refused to acknowledge his authority as chieftain of the clan, and applied to Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as "Laird of Clunie Macphersone, and the only and true representer of the ancient and honorable familie of the clan Chattane," which he obtained; and soon after, when the privy council required all the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson

obtained himself bound for his clan under the designation of Lord of Cluny and chief of the Macphersons; but his legal proceedings were not so fortunate as his resistance by arms had been, for no sooner was Macintosh aware of what had taken place than he applied to the privy council and the Lyon office to have his own title declared, and those titles given to Macpherson recalled.

Both parties were now called upon to produce evidence of their assertions, but while Macintosh could produce deeds during a long course of years, in which he was designated captain of clan Chattan, and also the unfortunate bond of Manrent which had been given in 1609, Macpherson had nothing to bring forward but tradition, and the argument arising from his representation of the ancient chiefs, which was but little understood by the feudalists of those days. The council at length gave a decision, which, perhaps, was as just a one as in the circumstances of the case could be expected from them. The judgment was in the following terms: "The lords of privy council, upon consideration of a petition presented by Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, and the Laird of Macintosh, doe ordain McIntosh to give bond in these terms, viz., for those of his clan, his vassals, those descendit of his family, his men, tenants, and servants, or dwelling upon his ground; and ordaine Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descendit of his family, and his men, tenants, and servants, but prejudice always to the Laird of McIntosh, bonds of relief against such of the name of Macpherson, who are his vassals. (Sub^d.), Rothcs." Upon this decision the arms were likewise recalled, and those of the Macphersons again matriculated as those of Macpherson of Cluny.

After this the Macintoshes remained in quiet possession of their hereditary territories, frequently at feud with Huntly and at other times at peace, and they appear to have constantly maintained the high station which they had acquired among the Highland clans with respect to power and extent of territory. Their feuds with the Camerons, with the accounts of which the earlier parts of their traditionary history abound, terminated by the place of that clan becoming supplied by another whose possessions in the Braes of Lochaber placed them too near

to the Macintoshes to avoid collision, and their natural disposition was of too turbulent a character not to give speedy cause of feud betwixt them. This clan was that of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and the circumstance which gave rise to the feud was this, the Macdonalds had no other right to the lands they inhabited than that of long possession, while the Macintoshes held a feudal title to the property which they had obtained from the lord of the Isles, and which had been confirmed by the crown on their forfeiture. This feud continued for several years with various success, but was finally brought to a close by the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands. Macintosh had come to the determination of making an effort to obtain something more than a mere feudal title to these lands, and with that view, if possible, to dispossess the Macdonalds. He accordingly raised as many of the clan as still adhered to him, notwithstanding the separation which had taken place not long before between the Macintoshes and the Macphersons, and marched towards Keppoch with the assistance of an independent company of soldiers furnished him by the government.

On his arrival at Keppoch he found the place deserted, and he was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy in order to leave a garrison behind him, believing himself secure from any opposition in the meantime, when he learnt that the Macdonalds of Keppoch had assembled together with their kindred tribes of Glengarry and Glenco, and were stationed in great numbers at a place called Mulroy, for the purpose of attacking him at daybreak. Macintosh immediately resolved upon anticipating this design, and forthwith marched upon the enemy, whom he found prepared for the conflict. The Macdonalds were stationed on the upper ridge, under Coll Macdonald of Keppoch, and the Macintoshes had nearly surmounted the height of Mulroy when the battle began. The contest, though fierce and maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, was not of long duration, and ended in the defeat of the Macintoshes, the capture of their chief, and the death of the commander of the independent company. But the battle had not been long closed, when a large body of the Macphersons, who, considering that the honour of clan Chattan

was compromised, had forgotten all former feelings of rivalry, suddenly appeared and prepared to assail the victors. Keppoch, although victorious, was in no condition to renew the contest with a fresh party, and he therefore agreed to surrender Macintosh to them, who, accordingly, had the double humiliation of having been captured by the Macdonalds, whom he despised as mere refractory tenants, and rescued by the Macphersons, whom he had treated with so little forbearance or consideration.

The Macphersons did not take any advantage of the chance which had placed Macintosh in their hands, but escorted him safely to his own estates, and from that time forward Keppoch remained undisturbed in his possessions, while the Macintoshes and Macphersons continued as separate and independent clans, the one possessing the title of captain, and the other claiming that of chief of clan Chattan, for notwithstanding the decision of the privy council, the Macphersons have ever since maintained themselves altogether distinct from the Macintoshes, and took an active share in the insurrections of 1715 and 1745 as a separate clan, refusing to acknowledge the title of Macintosh to be either chief or captain of clan Chattan, and asserting their own preferable title. In the latter insurrection the name of Macpherson has become celebrated for the distinguished part which their chief took in that ill-fated expedition, but perhaps still more so for the conduct of the clan to their chief after the defeat of Culloden had terminated the hopes of the Stuarts, and exposed Cluny to the vengeance of the government

There is perhaps no instance in which the attachment of the clan to their chief was so very strikingly manifested, as in the case of the Macphersons of Cluny after the disaster of "the forty-five." The chief having been deeply engaged in that insurrection, his life became of course forfeited to the laws, but neither the hope of reward nor the fear of danger could induce any one of his people to betray him. For *nine* years he lived concealed in a cave at a short distance from his own house; it was situated in the front of a woody precipice, of which the trees and shelving rocks completely concealed the entrance. This cave had been dug out by his own people, who worked by

night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a neighbouring lake, in order that no vestige of their labour might appear and lead to the discovery of the retreat. In this asylum he continued to live secure, receiving by night the occasional visits of his friends, and sometimes by day, when time had begun to slacken the rigour of pursuit.

Upwards of one hundred persons were privy to his concealment, and a reward of one thousand pounds sterling was offered to any one who should give information against him; and, besides, as it was known that he was somewhere concealed upon his own estate, a detachment of eighty men was constantly stationed there, independent of the occasional parties that traversed the country throughout, with a view to intimidate his tenantry and induce them by force or persuasion to disclose the place of his concealment; but although the soldiers were animated by the hope of reward, and their officers by the promise of promotion for the apprehension of this proscribed individual, yet so true were his people, so inflexibly strict to their promise of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual base enough to give a hint to his detriment. Many anecdotes are still related in the country of the narrow escapes he made in eluding the vigilance of the soldiery, and of the fidelity and diligence displayed by his clan in concealing him, until, after ten years of this dreary existence, he escaped to France, and there died in the following year.¹

After his death, the estate was restored to the present family, in whose possession it remains, and who are the lineal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan.

Arms.

Parted per fess, or, and azure, a lymphad or galley, her sails furled, her oars in action, of the first; in the dexter chief point a hand coupee, grasping a dagger pointed upwards, gules, for killing Cummine Lord Badenoch: in the sinister point a cross crosslet, fitchee, gules.

Badge.

Boxwood.

¹ Stewart's Sketches.

Principal Seat.

Strathnairn and Badenoch.

Oldest Cadet.

Macintosh of Macintosh is oldest cadet, and was captain of the clan for a period of two centuries.

Chief.

Cluny Macpherson.

Force.

In 1704, 1400. In 1715, 1020. In 1745, 1700.

CHAPTER VII.

MORAY—(*continued*).*Clan Cameron.*

AN ancient manuscript history of this clan commences with these words—"The Camerons have a tradition among them, that they are originally descended of a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of king Fergus II., anno 404. He was called Cameron from his crooked nose, as that word imports. But it is more probable that they are of the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country." With this last conclusion I am fully disposed to agree, but John Major has placed the matter beyond a doubt, for in mentioning on one occasion the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron, he says, "Hæ tribus sunt consanguineæ." They therefore formed a part of the extensive tribe of Moray, and followed the chief of that race until the tribe became broken up, in consequence of the success of the Macintoshes in the conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396. Although the Macphersons for the time submitted to the Macintosh as captain of the clan, the Camerons seem to have separated themselves from the main stock, and to have assumed independence.

The earliest possession of the Camerons was that part of Lochaber extending to the east of the Loch and river of Lochy, and was held by them of the lord of the Isles; their more modern possessions of Locheil and Locharkaig, which lie on the west side of that water, had been granted by the lord of the Isles to the founder of the clan Ranald, by whose descendants it was inhabited. As the Camerons are one of those clans whose chief bore the somewhat doubtful title of captain, we are led to suspect that the latter chiefs were of a different branch from the older family, and had, in common with the other clans

among whom the title of captain is found, been the oldest cadet, and in that capacity had come to supersede the elder branch when reduced by circumstances. Originally the clan Cameron consisted of three septs, the clan ic Mhartin, or Mac Martins, of Letterfinlay ; the clan ic Ilonobhy, or Camerons, of Strone ; and Sliochd Shoirle Ruaidh, or Camerons, of Glenevis. Of one of these septs the genealogy is to be found in the MS. of 1450, and it is apparent from that genealogy that the Locheil family belonged to the second, or clan ic Ilonobhy, for the first of the Locheil family who appears on record is Allan Mac Connell dui or son of Donald Du, who in 1472 obtains a charter from Celestine of the Isles, lord of Lochalche, to himself and the heirs male pro-created between him and his wife, Mariot, daughter of Angus de Insulis, with remainder to his brother, Eugene Mac Connelduy, and the two last generations of the clan ic Ilonobhy are Donald Du and his son Eogan. The traditionary origin of the Camerons, however, like that of the Macintoshes and other clans, clearly points out the ancient chiefs of the clan, for while they are unquestionably of native origin, their tradition derives them from a certain Cambro, a Dane, who is said to have acquired his property with the chiefship of the clan, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Mac Martin, of Letterfinlay. The extraordinary identity of all these traditionary tales, wherever the title of captain is used, leaves little room to doubt that in this case the Mac Martins were the old chiefs of the clan, and the Locheil family were the oldest cadets, whose after position at the head of the clan gave them the title of captain of the clan Cameron. There is some reason to think that on the acquisition of the captainship of the clan Chattan, in 1396, by the Macintoshes, the Mac Martins adhered to the successful faction, while the great body of the clan, with the Camerons of Locheil, declared themselves independent, and thus the Locheil family gained that position which they have ever since retained. Another circumstance probably contributed to place Donald Du at the head of the clan, for the Camerons having, along with the clan Chattan, deserted Alexander, lord of the Isles, when attacked by James I., in Lochaber, and having subsequently refused to join Donald Balloch in his invasion of Scotland in 1431, that chief, after his victory at Inverlochy, resolved to

revenge himself upon the Camerons, and attacked them with fury. The clan was unable to withstand his attack, and the chief was obliged to fly into Ireland, while the rest of the clan took refuge among the most inaccessible parts of that mountain country.

When the return of Alexander from captivity had restored some degree of order to his wild dominions, the family of Mac Martin were probably unable to resume their former station, and the oldest cadet, who on the occurrence of such events, and being generally the most powerful family of the clan, assumed the chieftainship with the title of captain, was now placed at the head of the clan. The name of this chief was Donald Du, and from him the Camerons of Locheil take their patronymic of Macconnel Du.

He appears to have raised the Camerons from the depressed state into which they had fallen by the vengeance of the lords of the Isles, and to have re-acquired for the clan the estates which they had formerly possessed. These estates had been given by the lord of the Isles to John Garbh Maclean of Coll as a reward for his services, but Donald Du soon drove him out of Lochaber, and slew his son Ewen. Donald Du was succeeded by his son Allan M'Coilduy, who acquired the estates of Locharkaig and Locheil, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their title. This property had formed part of the possessions of the clan Ranald, and had been held by them of Godfrey of the Isles, and his son Alexander, the eldest branch of the family. After the death of Alexander, the Camerons appeared to have acquired a feudal title to these lands, while the chief of clan Ranald claimed them as male heir.

At this period the feuds of the Camerons with the Macintoshes began, which, with various success on both sides, continued down to a late period, and that always with unabated bitterness. Allan Mac Coilduy was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, with the exception, perhaps, of his descendant, Sir Ewen. "This Allan Mac Coilduy," says the manuscript history before quoted, "had the character of being one of the bravest captains in his time. He is said to have made thirty-two expeditions into his enemies' country, for the thirty-two years that he lived, and three more for the

three-fourths of a year that he was in his mother's womb" Notwithstanding his character of one of the bravest captains, he was slain in one of his numerous conflicts with the Macintoshes and Macdonalds of Keppoch. The possessions of the family were still farther increased, and feudal titles to their whole property obtained by his son Ewen Allanson. He appears, in consequence of his feudal claims, to have acquired almost the whole of the estates which belonged to the chief of clan Ranald, and to have so effectually crushed that family that their chiefship was soon after usurped by a branch of the family.

It was during the life of Ewen that the last lord of the Isles was forfeited, and as the crown readily gave charters to all the independent clans of the lands then in their possession Ewen Cameron easily obtained a feudal title to the whole of his possessions, as well those which he inherited from his father as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and at this period may be dated the establishment of the Camerons in that station of importance and consideration which they have ever since maintained.

Ewen Cameron having acquired a great part of the lands of the chief of Clanranald, and having been the cause of the downfall of that family, he supported the bastard John Mudertach in his usurpation of the chiefship, and in consequence brought upon himself the resentment of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. After Huntly and Lovat had by force dispossessed John Mudertach, they returned separately and by different routes, and the consequence as might have been expected was, that the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom they were principally irritated, and having overtaken him at the head of Loch Lochy, they attacked and slew him together with his eldest son and three hundred of his clan. Huntly, enraged at this, immediately returned to Lochaber with a force which prevented all opposition, seized Ewen Cameron and Ronald Macdonald of Keppoch, and caused them to be beheaded at Elgin.

From this period the Camerons seem to have been engaged in the usual feuds with the neighbouring clans, conducted after the same fashion as usual in those matters, so that their history

does not present anything remarkable until we come to the time of Sir Ewen Cameron, a hero whose fame has eclipsed that of all his predecessors. Sir Ewen, or "Evandhu" as he was called in the Highlands, seems to have possessed an uncommon character, and one of chivalrous features, only equalled perhaps by that of his unfortunate grandson, whose share in the insurrection of 1745 is well known. The grandfather was the first to join in the insurrection of 1652 in favour of the royal cause, and the last who held out against the power of Oliver Cromwell, and to whom, in fact, he never fully submitted.

Of the numberless anecdotes related of this chief, it would be impossible to give a full detail in this place, or to do any justice to his history in a work so limited. He is said to have killed the last wolf in Scotland, and he so often defeated the body of troops stationed in Lochaber, and so constantly harassed them, that they were obliged to remain confined in the fortress of Inverlochy, and were at length so desirous to be at peace with him, that a treaty was concluded on terms most honourable to Sir Ewen, and in which his political principles were fully respected. One circumstance, however, regarding him, it may be proper to mention, being of more importance than all his exploits, as it illustrates the highly chivalrous nature of his character as well as the impression it had made upon others; and of the truth of this circumstance we have sufficient authority in the following passage of General Monk's letter:—"No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, *but his word of honour to live in peace.* He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms, as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Locheil for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants, for all the losses they had sustained from the troops."

Sir Ewen joined the royal party at Killicranky, although then an old man, and survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety.

If Sir Ewen's character was equalled by any one, it was by his grandson. The share taken by that unfortunate chief in the

insurrection of 1745, is well known to every one, and his conduct was such as to gain him the respect and admiration of all. The estates of the family became of course included in the numerous forfeitures of that period; but they were afterwards restored, notwithstanding that this clan had taken a part in every attempt made by the Highlanders in favour of the family of Stuart.

Arms.

Or, paly, barry, gules.

Badge.

Oak.

Principal Seat.

Locheil.

Oldest Cadet.

Cameron of Locheil was oldest cadet, and has been captain of the clan Cameron since the fourteenth century.

Chief.

Previous to the fifteenth century, Macmartin of Letterfinlay.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 800.

Clan Nachtan.

The traditions of the M'Nachtans derive them from Lochtay, where they are said to have been Thanes, but the genealogy contained in the manuscript of 1450, puts it beyond all doubt that they were one of the clans descended from the tribe of Moray, and formerly united under its Maormors. The whole of the ancient district of Moray is still occupied by clans descended from that tribe, with the exception of one portion of considerable extent. This portion consists of that part of the ancient district which extends between the lordship of Badenoch and Strathnairn and the southern boundary of Ross, and comprehends the extensive districts of the Aird, Glenurchart, Glenmorison, Abertariff, Stratherick, &c. This northern division of the ancient district is intersected by Loch Oich and Loch Ness, and is chiefly in possession of the Frasers, Grants, and Macdonalds, but as all these families can be traced as having acquired possession of the lands at different periods, and as deriving their origin from the occupiers of other districts, it is plain that we must

look to other quarters for the early occupiers of this division of the territories of that tribe.

The first families that can be traced as in possession of this part of Moray are those of Bisset, a family unquestionably of Norman origin, and of Thirlstain, certainly a Lowland, if not a Norman family, and there can be little doubt that they acquired this district from Malcolm IV. in 1160, when we know that he planted a great part of Moray with strangers. The oldest authorities for this fact, however, are equally distinct, that he removed the old inhabitants and placed them in other parts of the country, for which purpose the crown lands must have been principally employed. It is, therefore, extremely probable, that those clans of Moray descent which we find at an early period in districts the most remote from their original seat, formed a part of the inhabitants of this district whom Malcolm IV. removed.

To them the Macnachtans certainly belonged, for their genealogy indicates a Moray descent, while their traditions place them at a very early period in the crown lands of Straththay.

There is one remarkable circumstance regarding this clan, which is, that while the other clans can generally be traced to have previously formed a part of some greater sept, the Macnachtans at a very early period appear in the same independent state in which they existed at a late period, and also, that they continued without preceptible increase or diminution of strength. Their earliest possessions, which they have always maintained, although they afterwards held them of the earl of Argyll, extended betwixt the south side of Lochfine and Lochawe, and included the glens of Ara and Shira, Glenfine, and others, while their ancient seat, the castle of Dunduraw, shews that they must at one time have possessed considerable power. They probably obtained these properties from Alexander II., on his conquest of Argyll in 1221, and must as crown vassals have formed a part of his army, to whom the forfeited lands were principally given. The MS. of 1450 deduces them through a long line of ancestors from Nachtan Mor, who, according to that authority, must have flourished in the tenth century; but the first chief of the family occurring in this genealogy, whose age we

can fix with certainty, is Gilchrist Macnachtan, who obtained from Alexander III. the keeping of the royal castle of Frechelan in Lochawe, and this castle was for some time the residence of the family. In the reign of Robert Bruce, the baron Macnachtan is mentioned as having actively supported the cause of Baliol along with the lord of Lorn, and on that occasion the Campbells probably obtained a grant of a great part of their lands.

In the reign of Robert III. there is a charter by Colin, earl of Argyle, to Maurice Macnachtan, of sundry lands in Over Lochaw, and at the same period Morice Macnachtan occurs in the genealogy previously alluded to. After this we know very little of the family until the reign of Charles I., when Sir Alexander Macnachtan appears to have distinguished himself very much in the numerous civil wars of that era. On the restoration of Charles II., Macnachtan is said to have proved an exception to the generality of the royalists, and to have been rewarded with a large pension as well as the honour of knighthood. He did not, however, escape the fate of the neighbouring clans, and found himself as little in a condition to offer any obstacle to the rapid advancement of the Argyll family as the others. They accordingly soon joined the ranks of the dependents of that great family, and the loss of their estate some time afterwards, through the operation of legal diligence, reduced them still lower, until there was little left to them but the recollection of former greatness, which the ruins of various of their strongholds, and the general tradition of the country, would shew not to be visionary.

Arms.

Quarterly. First and fourth—Argent, a hand fess-ways, coupee, proper, holding a cross crosslet, fitchee, azure. Second and third—Argent, a tower embattled gules.

Principal Seat.

Dundurraw on Lochfine.

Chief.

Extinct.

Clan Gille-con.

This clan is one of those to which a Norman origin has for a considerable length of time been assigned, and it is said that

a brother of Colin Fitzgerald, the alleged ancestor of the Mackenzies, was the founder of the family. But this origin, as well as those of the other clans derived from a Norman source appears to have been altogether unknown previous to the seventeenth century, and to be but little deserving of credit.

This clan has been omitted in the MS. of 1450, but the two oldest genealogies of the family, of which one is the production of the Beatons, who were hereditary sennachies of the family, concur in deriving the clan Gille-eon from the same race from whom the clans belonging to the great Moray tribe are brought by the MS. of 1450. Of this clan the oldest seat seems to have been the district of Lorn, as they first appear in subjection to the lords of Lorn; and their situation being thus between the Camerons and Macnachtans, who were undoubted branches of the Moray tribe, there can be little doubt that the Macleans belonged to that race also. As their oldest seat was thus in Argyll, while they are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Moray, we may infer that they were one of those clans transplanted from north Moray by Malcolm IV., and it is not unlikely that Glenurchart was their original residence, as that district is said to have been in the possession of the Macleans when the Bissets came in.

The first of the family on whom tradition has fixed a name is Gilleon, surnamed "ni tuoidh," from the word signifying a battle-axe, which it appears was his favourite weapon. He is said to have fought at the battle of Largs, but of his history nothing whatever is known. In 1296 we find Gillemore Macilean del Counté de Perth signing Ragman's Roll, and as the county of Perth at that time embraced Lorn, it is probable that this was the son of Gilleon and ancestor of the Macleans. In the reign of Robert the Bruce, frequent mention is made of three brothers, John, Nigell, and Dofuall, termed Mac Gillion, or filii Gillion, and they appear to have been sons of Gillemore, for we find John designated afterwards Mac Molmari, or Mac Gillimore.

John Mac Gillimore had two sons, Lachlan Lubanich, predecessor of the family of Dowart, and Eachin Reganich, predecessor of that of Lochbuy. These brothers lived during the reign of Robert II., and appear first as followers of the lord of Lorn; but a dispute having arisen between them and their

chief, they left him and took refuge with the lord of the Isles. The island lord was now rapidly acquiring the supremacy over the other descendants of their great progenitor, Somerled, and they were accordingly at once received by him with great favour. But the usual consequence of a stranger entering into the country of another clan followed, and a bitter feud soon took place between them and the chief of the Mackinnons, which led to one of the most daring actions which has ever been recorded of any Highland chief. The lord of the Isles had set out on some expedition to the mainland in a single galley, desiring the Macleans and the Mackinnons to follow him, and the Macleans resolved upon taking this opportunity of avenging many injuries which they had received from Mackinnon, and killed him while in the act of mounting into his galley. Afraid of the vengeance of the lord of the Isles for this deed of treachery, they proceeded to follow up their act by one still more daring, and accordingly set sail after him. No sooner had they overtaken his galley than the two brothers at once boarded it, and succeeded in taking the Macdonald himself prisoner in the very centre of his islands, and within sight of many of his castles. They then carried their captive to the small island of Garveloch, and thence to Icolmkill, where they detained him until the lord of the Isles, seeing no prospect of speedy relief from his degrading situation, agreed to vow friendship to them "upon certain stones where men were used to make solemn vows in those superstitious times," and granted them the lands in Mull which the clan have ever since possessed.

Lachlan Lubanich afterwards married the daughter of the lord of the Isles, and was appointed by him his lieutenant-general in time of war, an office for which this deed had shewn him well fitted. The descendants of these brothers have disputed among themselves the honour of the chieftainship of the clan Gille-eon, but, although there are not data left from which to ascertain with any degree of certainty in which family the right lay, there seems little reason to doubt that the family of Dowart was the principal branch of the clan. Both families produce tradition in support of their claims; but when we consider that, upon the lord of the Isles being compelled when in the power of both the brothers, to give his daughter to one of

them, Lachlan was selected ; and that unvaried tradition asserts that his son commanded as lieutenant-general at the battle of the Harlaw ; it seems probable, that Lachlan was the eldest brother, and consequently, that the Macleans of Dowart were chiefs of the clan Gille-eon.

Lachlan Lubanich was succeeded by his son Eachin Ruoidh ni Cath or Red Hector of the battles. He commanded, as we have said, at the battle of Harlaw, under the Earl of Ross, and it is said, that the Maclean and Irvine of Drum, having encountered on the field of battle, slew each other in single combat. He appears to have well maintained his epithet of "ni cath," although the Sennachy is scarcely borne out in history, when he asserts that he "commanded an army in Ireland, took the city of Dublin, and a fleet that lay in the harbour."

His eldest son, Lachlan, was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlaw, and detained in captivity for a long time by the Earl of Mar ; his brother John, however, followed Donald Balloch with the Macleans in his expedition into Lochaber, and was present at the victory of Inverlochy. From this period until the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the Macleans adhered to these powerful chiefs, taking a share in all the transactions in which the Macdonalds were engaged. In the dissensions which arose between John, the last lord, and his son Angus Og, the chief of the Macleans took part with the former, and was present at the sea fight in the bloody bay, where both Macdonald the father, and Maclean, were made prisoners.

On the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, the Macleans assumed independence, and appear to have gradually risen upon the ruins of that great clan, in the same manner as the Mackenzies, Campbells, Macintoshes and others. The possessions of the Macleans now comprehended the greater part of the island of Mull, Movern, and many of the smaller isles, and became divided into the powerful branches of Dowart, Lochbuy, Coll, Ardgowr, Morvern, &c. Their history after this period exhibits merely a succession of feuds between them and the Macdonalds and Campbells, in which they were enabled to maintain their ground against both, by reason of their great numbers, and the nature of the country they possessed. But at length, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Mac

donalds appear to have united for the purpose of effectually crushing the rising power of the Macleans. At the head of this union was Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, who had married Maclean's sister, and between whom and Maclean disputes had arisen in consequence of both possessing lands in Jura. The Macdonalds of Slait were involved in the dispute in consequence of Slait having landed on Maclean's property in Jura on his way to visit Macdonald of Kintyre, when the Kintyre Macdonalds carried off some of Maclean's cattle during the night, in order that he might impute the theft to Macdonald of Sleat. In this they were successful, for the Macleans were no sooner aware of their loss, than they attacked the Macdonalds of Sleat and defeated them with so much slaughter, that their chief with difficulty escaped. In order to revenge themselves, the Macdonalds united to attack the Macleans, and having assembled in great numbers, landed in Mull. At that juncture, the chief of the Macleans, who was surnamed Lachlan More, was a person well fitted by his great talents and military genius to meet the emergency upon which the fate of his clan seemed to depend. He immediately retired with his followers and cattle to the hills in the interior of the island, and left the plains open to the Macdonalds, who, finding no one to attack, and being unable to force the almost inaccessible mountains, were obliged to depart ; but soon after returning with greater numbers, they found Maclean, having assembled his whole clan and been joined by the other numerous branches of the family, determined to anticipate their purposed invasion, and setting sail for Mull he attacked the Macdonalds in an island south of Kerrera, called Bacca. Unprepared for so vigorous an attack on the part of the Macleans, the Macdonalds were forced to give way and betake themselves to their galleys, stationed on the other side of the island, but not before they had sustained great loss in the skirmish. After this defeat, the Macdonalds never again attempted to invade the possessions of the Macleans, but a bitter enmity existed between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre, who failing to make any impression upon them by force resorted to treachery. With this view Angus Macdonald of Kintyre effected a reconciliation with Lachlan More, and the better to cover his intended fraud he visited him at his castle of Dowart,

where his purpose was anticipated by Maclean, who took him prisoner, and did not release him until he had given up his right to some of the lands in Isla, and had left his brother and his eldest son at Dowart as hostages. Maclean was then invited to visit Macdonald at Kintyre, which, relying upon the security of the hostages, he agreed to do, and arrived there, having left Macdonald's brother at Dowart, and being accompanied by the other hostage, his uncle, and seventy gentlemen of his clan. They were received with apparent cordiality, but had no sooner retired for the night than the house was surrounded by the Macdonalds with Angus at their head, and after an obstinate resistance, the Macleans were made prisoners.

Angus now satiated his vengeance by executing two of the Macleans every day, reserving their chief Lachlan More to the last; and he had already in this way slain them all except the chief, when two of the gentlemen of his clan having been taken prisoners in Mull, he was obliged to exchange Lachlan for them. No sooner, therefore, was Lachlan at liberty than he applied to the government, and obtained letters of fire and sword against Macdonald, with an order upon Macleod and Locheil to assist him. With these means he sailed for Isla, attacked and defeated the Macdonalds, burnt the whole island, and drove Angus to seek refuge in his castle, who, seeing that he could not resist Maclean, bought his forbearance by giving up to him the half of the island of Isla.

On the death of Angus of Isla, this grant produced some negotiations between Maclean and James Macdonald, Angus's son, and in order to settle their difference a meeting was agreed upon between them, but Maclean coming unadvisedly with a small attendance, and his boats being stranded by the retiring tide, he was surprised by James Macdonald and killed after a brave resistance. And thus fell the greatest chief whom the Macleans ever had, a victim to the treachery of the Macdonalds of Isla.

After this the feuds between the Macleans and Macdonalds seem to have come to an end; the son of Lachlan having fully revenged his death by ravaging the island of Isla. The Macleans joined the Marquis of Montrose in his memorable campaign, along with the other Highland clans under the command of Sir

Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, and sustained the warlike character of the clan throughout that enterprise.

In the year 1715 the Macleans also joined the rising under the Earl of Mar, and suffered upon that occasion the same penalty with the other clans who had been induced to take a part in that unfortunate expedition. But their estates having been afterwards restored, they were prevailed upon by the persuasions of President Forbes to remain quiet during the subsequent insurrection of the year 1745.

Nevertheless, although they had thus escaped the snare into which so many of the clans fell upon this occasion, the family became soon after extinct, and the clan is now divided into several independent branches who contest with each other the honour of the chiefship.

Arms.

Quarterly—First. Argent, a rock gules. Second—Argent, a dexter hand fess-ways, coupé, gules, holding a cross crosslet, fitchée, in pale azure. Third—Or, a lymphad sable. Fourth—Argent, a salmon naiant, proper; in chief, two eagles' heads erased, affronté gules.

Badge.

Blackberry heath.

Principal Seat

Mull.

Oldest Cadet.

The family of Lochbuy, who have long claimed the chiefship, appear to be the oldest cadet.

Chief.

Maclean of Dowart appears to have been chief of the clan.

Force.

Formerly 800. In 1745, 500.

Sìol O'Cain.

In enquiring into the existence of any descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the North of Moray, we should expect to find them either as isolated clans in the neighbourhood, whose traditionary origin shewed some connection with those of the tribe of Moray, or situated in districts whose situation displayed evident marks of the violent removal effected by Malcolm IV.

Of the latter we find instances in the Macnachtans and Macleans, of the former we can discover it in those clans whom tradition deduces from the O'Cains, and which consist principally of the Monros, Macmillans, and Buchannans. These clans, like most of the other Highland clans, have been supposed to be derived from the Irish, but their traditionary origin clearly points out their connection with the tribe of Moray. According to the ancient Sennachies, the descent of these clans is derived from certain branches of the family of O'Cain, who are said to have come from Fermanagh; but the name Cain being spelt in Gaelic Cathan, and being the very same with Cattan, from whom clan Chattan derives its appellation, it seems much more probable that they derived their patronymic of "O'Cain" or "O'Cathan" from the Cattan of clan Chattan. And more particularly when the oldest genealogies of the Macmillans, expressly makes them a branch of the clan Chattan. The founder of the clan Chattan is also brought from the same part of Ireland as the Monros in the legends of the Sennachies; and the identity of tradition clearly points out a connection between the two clans. We have already shewn this fable of the Irish origin to be untenable in respect to the one, and it must be equally so with regard to the other.

Clan Roich.

The possessions of the Monros lie on the north side of the Cromarty Firth, and are known in the Highlands by the name of "Ferrin Donald," a name derived from the progenitor Donald, who bore the patronymic of O'Cain; but as they originally formed a part of the tribe of Moray, it seems clear that their earliest seats must have been in that part of Moray from which they were driven out by the Bissets. By their situation they were naturally thrown into connection with the earls of Ross, and they seem, accordingly, to have followed them in the various expeditions in which they were engaged.

The first of the Monros for whom we have distinct authority, is George Monro of Fowlis, who is said to be mentioned in a charter of William, earl of Sutherland, so early as the reign of Alexander II. In the next century, the clan appears to have been nearly cut off to a man, in a feud with the inhabitants of the

hill-country of Ross. These clans, consisting principally of the Macivers, Macaulays, and Maclays, had risen against the earl of Ross, and taken his second son at Balnagowan. In his attempt to put down this insurrection, the earl of Ross was promptly assisted by the Monros and the Dingwalls, who pursued the Highlanders, and fought them at a place called Beallynebroig. The three clans who had broken out into rebellion were nearly extinguished, and it is said that a hundred and forty of the Dingwalls and eleven of the house of Fowlis, who were to succeed each other, were killed, and that accordingly the succession fell to an infant. The Monros, however, appear to have soon recovered from this slaughter, and to have again attained to the station they had formerly possessed.

The first feudal titles obtained by this family to their possessions were acquired about the middle of the fourteenth century, and all proceeded from the earl of Ross as their feudal superior. The reddendo of one of these charters is of a somewhat singular nature considering the times, *Monro holding the lands of Pitlundie blench of the earl of Ross, for payment of a pair of white gloves, or three pounds Scots, if required, alternately.* In another charter, however, granted by the same earl, of the lands of Easter Fowlis, to Robert Monro of Fowlis, it is expressly said, that these lands had belonged to his predecessors ever since the time of Donald, the first of this family. From this period, the Monros appear to have remained in possession of the same territories, without either acquiring additions to them, or suffering diminution; and to have at all times held the same station in which they were first found among the other Highland clans.

In the sixteenth century they seem to have been considered as a clan of considerable importance, for when so many of the Highlanders assembled round Queen Mary at Inverness, in 1562, Buchannan says, "*Audito principis periculo magna priscorum Scotorum multitudo partim excita partim sua sponte affecit, imprimis Fraserii et Monroi hominum fortissimorum in illis gentibus familiæ.*"

But when the civil wars of the seventeenth century broke out, and the Highlanders took such an active part on the side of the royal cause, the Monros were one of the few clans of Gaelic

origin who embraced the other side ; and from this period they made a constant and determined opposition to the efforts made in favour of the Stuarts. The cause of this determination is probably to be found in the circumstance of the chief of the Monros having been for several generations engaged in the continental wars, into which they had been drawn to serve by embarrassments at home, and the hope of increasing the fortunes of the family. This circumstance, as it had the same effect with the Mackays, seems always to have induced the Scotch, on their return from the German wars, to adopt the line of politics opposed to that of the Highlanders generally, and, in this respect, the Monros had rendered themselves well known for the active support which they invariably afforded to the established government.

In the year 1745, the Monros proved their attachment to the government by joining it with the whole clan, and their chief, Sir Robert Monro, of Fowlis, was killed at the battle of Falkirk, fighting against the army of the Stuart cause.

Arms.

Or, an eagle's head erased, gules.

Badge.

Eagles' feathers.

Principal Seat.

Fowlis.

Oldest Cadet.

Munro of Milton.

Chief.

Munro of Fowlis.

Force.

In 1704 and 1715, 400. In 1745, 500.

Clan Gillemhaol.

The earliest seat of the Macmillans appears to have been on both sides of the Locharkaig, and their situation strongly confirms their traditionary connection with the clan Chattan. On the grant of Lochaber to the lord of the Isles, the Macmillans

became vassals of that powerful chief, but when the Camerons obtained possession of Locharkaig, they became dependent upon that clan, in which situation they have remained ever since.

Another branch of this clan possessed the greater part of southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; and although the family is now extinct, many records of their former power are to be found in that district. One of the towers of that fine ancient edifice, Castle Swen, bears the name of Macmillan's Tower, and there is a stone cross in the old churchyard of Kilmoray Knap, upwards of twelve feet high, richly sculptured, which has upon one side the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, having the following inscription in ancient Saxon characters underneath the figure:—"Hæc est crux Alexandri Macmillan." Although the Macmillans were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneils, in the sixteenth century. Tradition asserts that these Knapdale Macmillans came originally from Lochtay-side, and that they formerly possessed Lawers, on the north side of that loch, from which they were driven by Chalmers of Lawers, in the reign of David II.

As there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition, it would appear that this branch of the Macmillans had been removed by Malcolm IV. from North Moray, and placed in the crown lands of Strathtay. Macmillan is said to have had the charter of his lands in Knapdale engraved in the Gaelic language and character upon a rock at the extremity of his estate; and tradition reports that the last of the name, in order to prevent the prostitution of his wife, butchered her admirer, and was obliged in consequence to abscond. On the extinction of the family of the chief, the next branch, Macmillan of Dunmore, assumed the title of Macmillan of Macmillan, but that family is now also extinct.

Although the Macmillans appear at one time to have been a clan of considerable importance, yet as latterly they became mere dependants upon their more powerful neighbours, who possessed the superiority of their lands, and as their principal families are now extinct, no records of their history have come

down to us, nor do we know what share they took in the various great events of Highland history. Their property, upon the extinction of the family of the chief, was contended for by the Campbells and Macneills, the latter of whom were a powerful clan in North Knapdale, but the contest was, by compromise decided in favour of the former. It continued in the same family till the year 1775, when, after the death of the tenth possessor, the estate was purchased by Sir Archibald Campbell, of Inverniet.

Of the same race with the Macmillans, appear to be the Buchannans, or clan Anselan, who obtained the barony of Buchannan by marriage with its heiress. They claimed descent from Anselan O'Cain, and their oldest traditions indicate a close connection with the Macmillans.

Arms.

Or, a lion rampant sable upon a chief parted per barr. gules,
three mollets argent.

Principal Seat.

Knapdale.

Chief.

Extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

III.—Ross.

THE district of Ross is very frequently mentioned in the Norse Sagas along with the other districts which were ruled by Maormors or Iarls, but we find it impossible to extract from these authorities the names of many of its Maormors, for the proximity of the extensive district of Moray, and the very great power and influence to which its chiefs attained, would naturally force the less powerful Maormor of Ross into a subordinate situation, and thus prevent his name from being associated with any of the great events of that early period of our history.

It was consequently only upon the downfall of that powerful race that the chiefs of Ross first appear in history, and by that time they had already assumed the new appellation of Comes or earl. That these earls, however, were the descendants of the ancient Maormors, there can be little doubt, and this natural presumption is in this instance strengthened by the fact that the oldest authorities concur in asserting the patronymic or Gaelic name of the earls of Ross to be O'Beolan, or descendants of Beolan ; and we actually find, from the oldest Norse Saga connected with Scotland, that a powerful chief in the north of Scotland, named Beolan, married the daughter of Ganga Rolfe, or Rollo, the celebrated pirate, who became afterwards the first earl of Normandy. From this account, extracted from almost a contemporary writer, it would appear that the ancestor of the earls of Ross was chief of that district in the beginning of the tenth century.

The first known earl of Ross is Malcolm, to whom a precept was directed from Malcolm IV., desiring him to protect and defend the monks of Dunfermline in their lawful privileges, possessions, &c. This precept is not dated, but from the names

of the witnesses it must have been granted before the year 1162. The next earl who is recorded in history is Ferchard, surnamed Macintagart, or son of the priest. At this period the tribe of Moray, after a series of rebellions, of which each had proved to be more fatal to them than the preceding, was rapidly approaching its downfall ; and in proportion as it declined, the earls of Ross appear to have obtained more and more of the power and influence in the North, which had hitherto been possessed by the Maormors of Moray. By the defeat of Kenneth Macheth, the last of the line of the old earls of Moray, that family became extinct, and the ruin of the tribes was completed, while Ferchard, earl of Ross, who had judged it prudent at length openly to join the king's party, and had been mainly instrumental in suppressing that insurrection, at once acquired the station in the Highlands which had been formerly held by the earls of Moray. The designation of this earl of "son of the priest," shews that he was not the son of the former earl, but that the older family must have become extinct, and a new line come into possession of the dignity. Of what family this earl was, history does not say, but that omission may in some degree be supplied by the assistance of the MS. of 1450. It is well known that the surname of Ross has always been rendered in Gaelic, *clan Anrias*, or *clan Gilleanrias*, and they appear under the former of these appellations in all the early Acts of Parliament ; there is also an unvarying tradition in the Highlands, that on the death of William, last earl of Ross of this family, a certain Paul Mac Tire was for some time chief of the clan ; and this tradition is corroborated by the fact that there is a charter by this same William, earl of Ross, to this very Paul Mac Tire, in which he styles him his cousin. There appears, however, among the numerous clans contained in the MS. of 1450, one termed *clan Gilleanrias*, which commences with Paul Mac Tire, so that there can be little doubt that this clan is the same with that of the Rosses, and in this MS. they are traced upwards in a direct line to a certain "Gilleon na h'Airde," or Collin of the Aird, who must have lived in the tenth century. In this genealogy occurs the name of *Gilleanrias*, exactly contemporary with the generation preceding that of Ferchard.

The name of Gilleanrias, which means the servant of St. Andrew, would seem to indicate that he was a priest; and when, in addition to this, we consider the time exactly corresponds—that the earls of Ross, being a part of the clan Anrias, must have been descended from him—and that among the earls who besieged Malcolm IV. in Perth, in the year 1160, appears the name of Gilleandres, it seems clear that Ferchard, “the priest’s son,” was the son of Gillieanrias, the founder of the clan Anrias, and consequently, that he succeeded to the earldom of Ross on the failure of a former family. Ferchard appears to have rendered great assistance to Alexander II. in his conquest of Argyll in 1221, and on that occasion obtained from that monarch a grant of North Argyll, afterwards termed Wester Ross. The only other act recorded of his life is the foundation of the Abbey of Ferne; and on his death at Tayne, in 1251, he was succeeded by his son William.

It was during the life of this earl that the expedition of Haco to the Western Isles took place. The more immediate cause of this expedition was the incursions which the earl of Ross had made into various of the Isles; but although, in a Celtic country, the proximity of powerful tribes was always accompanied by bitter feuds, and accordingly there might have existed some hereditary enmity between the Rosses and the Gael of the Western Isles, yet the history of the period shews very clearly that the hostilities of the earl of Ross were in all probability instigated by the king; and that that monarch, aware of the danger of attempting the subjugation of the Isles, from the ill success of his father, had by these means called forth a Norwegian armament, and brought the war to his own country, a policy the sagacity of which was fully justified in the result. The cession of the Isles, however, although an event of so much importance and advantage to the general welfare of the country, did not affect the interests of the earl of Ross so favourably; as previous to that occurrence they had, ever since the decline of the Maormors of Moray, been the only great chiefs in the Highlands, and had possessed an absolute influence in the North. But now a new family was thus brought in closer connexion with the kingdom of

Scotland, whose power was too great for the earls of Ross to overcome, and who consequently divided with them the consideration which the latter had alone previously held in the Highlands. It would lead to too great length to enter in this place into a detailed account of the history of these earls, particularly as their great power involved them so much with the general public events of Scottish history, that such a detail becomes the less necessary; suffice it therefore to say, that notwithstanding the powerful clan of the Macdonalds having by the cession of the Isles been brought into the field, they continued to maintain the high station they had reached in point of influence; and their policy leading them to a constant adherence to the established government of the time, they were ready to take advantage of the numerous rebellions of their rival chiefs to increase their own influence, although the actual strength of the Macdonalds, and the advantage they derived from the distant and inaccessible nature of their extensive possessions, was too great to allow any very permanent advantage to be obtained over them. Such was the reciprocal position of these two great families in respect to each other; and each of them would perhaps in the end have proved too much for the strength of the government, had they not at all times had to apprehend the enmity of the other; so that they remained in an attitude of mutual defiance and respect until the extinction of the direct male line of the earls of Ross, when the introduction, through the operation of the feudal principles of succession, of a Norman baron into their territories and dignities, not only deprived the lords of the Isles of a dreaded rival, but eventually even threw the whole power and resources of the earldom of Ross into the hands of these Island lords; and thus, no Highland chief remaining powerful enough to offer any opposition to the Macdonalds, gave birth to that brief but eventful struggle between the lords of the Isles and the crown, which could only terminate with the ruin or extinction of one of the contending parties.

This termination of the male line of the earls of Ross, and introduction in their place of a Norman baron, although it was but for a short period that the Lowland family remained,

being soon succeeded by the Macdonalds themselves, had the usual effect of bringing the subordinate clans into notice ; and the first of these to which we have to direct our attention is the clan Anrias, or the Rosses.

Clan Anrias.

On the death of William, the last of the old earls of Ross, it is unquestionable that the chiefship of the clan devolved upon Paul Mac Tire, who in the MS. of 1450 is given as chief of the clan Anrias. Paul appears from that manuscript to have descended from a brother of Ferchard, first earl of Ross of this family, who bore the same name of Paul, and to have been a person of no ordinary consequence in his time. "Paul Mactire," says Sir Robert Gordon, "was a man of great power and possessions. In hys tyme he possessed the lands of Creich, in Sutherland, and built a house there called Douncrieich, with such a kynd of hard mortar that at this day it cannot be known whereof it was made. As he was building this house and fortefeing it, he had intelligence that his onlie son was slayen in Catteness, in company with one Murthow Reawich, ane outlaw and valiante captaine in these days, which made him desist from further building, when he had almost finished the same. There are manie things fabulouslie reported of this Paul Mactire among the vulgar people, which I do omit to relate." Sir Robert is perfectly correct in calling Paul a man of great power and possessions, for he held the whole of Strath Carron, Strath Oikill, Scrivater, and Glenbeg, in Ross, besides the extensive district of Braechatt including Lairg Crieich and Slischilish, or Ferrincoskie. He had also a charter of the lands of Gerloch from the earl of Ross, but his title to be considered as the inventor of vitrified forts, Duncrieich being one of the most remarkable specimens remaining of these curious objects of antiquity, although admitted, strangely enough, by the sceptical Pinkerton, may by some be considered doubtful. "Paul Mactyre," says an ancien historian of Highland families, "was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him blackmail. It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for blackmail so long as he was able to travel." On this chief, whose actions seem to

have dwelt so long in the recollection of after generations, being removed by death, we find the Rosses of Balnagowan appearing as the head of the clan, and in this family the chiefship has remained for upwards of three hundred years. The descent of the Rosses of Balnagowan has hitherto been considered as perfectly distinct, and it has never been doubted that their ancestor was William Ross, son of Hugh de Ross, who was brother to William, the last Earl of Ross. The family have in consequence claimed to be the male representatives of the ancient earls, but to this the objection naturally occurs, that if the Rosses of Balnagowan are the descendants of the brother of the last earl, how came Paul Mactire, a remote collateral branch, to be considered chief of the race, as we know from the MS. of 1450, and other sources, he unquestionably was? The descent of the Balnagowan family from a William de Ross, the son of a Hugh de Ross, who lived in the reign of David II., is undoubted; but it unfortunately happens that the records prove most clearly that there lived at the same time two Hugh de Rosses, one of whom was certainly brother to the last earl, and that each of these Hugh de Rosses had a son William de Ross.

In 1375, Robert II. confirms "*Willielmo de Ross, filio et hæredi quond Hugonis de Ross*," a charter of William, earl of Ross, to the said Hugh, his brother, of the lands of Balnagowan, and in 1379 he grants *consanguineo suo Hugoni de Ross de Kinfauns*, and Margaret Barclay his spouse, an annual rent from the lands of Doune in Banff. The one Hugh Ross thus got a charter in 1379, while the other was already dead in 1375.¹

In 1383, however, we find a charter to John Lyon of lands in Fife, *que fuerunt Roberto de Ross, filio et heredi Hugonis de Ross de Kinfauns*, and in 1377 the king confirms a charter by the earl of Caithness, *Willielmo de Ross, filio juniori quond Hugonis de Ross*, of the lands in Caithness, which had belonged to Walter Moray.

¹ Mr. Wood, in his *Peerage*, quotes these charters as of the same Hugh de Ross; and in quoting the last, remarks, with the utmost gravity, that Hugh appears at this time to

be dead. No doubt he was, but a grant of an annual rent to a dead person does not seem to have struck Mr. Wood as singular.

From these charters, then, it appears that there existed in the North, at the same time, two William de Rosses, each of them son of a Hugh de Ross. The one William de Ross, however, was the eldest son of Hugh de Ross, the brother of the last earl, while the other William de Ross was the younger son of a Hugh de Ross who, in consequence of a connection with the royal family, obtained a grant of Kinfauns in Perthshire, Kinfauns being inherited by the eldest son, Robert, while William obtained property in the North. It is, of course, impossible to fix with certainty from which of the two Williams the Balnagowan family are descended, but the presumption certainly is, that William de Ross, the son of the earl's brother, died without issue, and that the other William de Ross, who must have been of a remote branch, is their ancestor. That the Rosses of Balnagowan were of the same branch with Paul Mac Tire is rendered probable by their own tradition, for when a family is led by circumstances to believe in a descent different from the real one, we invariably find that they assert a marriage between their ancestor and the heiress of the family from which they are in reality descended, and the Rosses of Balnagowan have accordingly invariably accompanied the assertion of their descent from Hugh, the brother of the last earl, with that of their ancestor having married the daughter and heiress of Paul Mac Tire.

Of the history of the Rosses during the fifteenth century we know little; and they may have acquired the property of Balnagowan either by marriage or as male heirs of the last family. Towards the end of that century they very narrowly escaped being annihilated in a feud with the Mackays, who were at that time in great power. Angus Mackay, after having for a long period constantly molested and irritated the Rosses by frequent incursions into their territories, was at length surprised by them in the church at Tarbat, and there burnt to death. When his son John attained majority, he determined to take a deep and bloody revenge for his father's death, and having raised as many of his own clan as he could, and also obtained considerable assistance from the earl of Sutherland, he unexpectedly burst into the district of Strathoykill, wasting the country with fire and sword. Alexander, then laird of

Balnagowan, collected forthwith all the men he could, and met the invader at a place called Aldycharrich. A battle followed, which was contested with unusual fierceness and obstinacy, until at length the Rosses were totally routed, and their chief, together with seventeen landed proprietors of the county of Ross, were slain. The Rosses do not appear ever to have recovered the great slaughter which took place upon this occasion, and they remained afterwards a clan of no great strength, until at length the family became extinct in the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the person of David, the last of the old Rosses of Balnagowan, who, finding that in consequence of the entail of Balnagowan ending with himself, he was enabled to sell the estate, disposed of it to General Ross, brother of lord Ross of Hawkhead, from whom the late Rosses of Balnagowan are descended, thus occasioning the somewhat curious coincidence of the estates being purchased by a family of the same name though of very different origin.

Arms.

Oldest coat—Sa. on a chev. ar. a lion rampant, or, between two torteauxes.

Badge.

The uva ursi plant.

Principal Seat.

Balnagowan.

Chief.

Ross Munro, of Pitcalnie, now represents this family.

Force.

In 1427, 2000. In 1704 and 1715, 300. In 1745, 500.

Clan Kenneth.

The Mackenzies have long boasted of their descent from the great Norman family of Fitzgerald in Ireland, and in support of this origin they produce a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, the supposed progenitor of the family, of the lands of Kintail. At first sight these documents might appear conclusive, but, independently of the somewhat suspicious circumstance, that while these papers have been most freely and generally quoted, no one has ever yet declared that he has seen the originals, the

fragment of the Icolmkill record merely says, that among the actors in the battle of Largs, fought in 1262, was "*Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia geraldinorum qui proximo anno ab Hibernia pulsus apud regem benigne acceptus hinc usque in curta permansit et in præfacto prælio strenue pugnavit,*" giving not a hint of his having settled in the Highlands, or of his having become the progenitor of any Scottish family whatever; while as to the supposed charter of Alexander III., it is equally inconclusive, as it merely grants the lands of Kintail "*Colino Hiberno,*" the word "*Hibernus*" having at that time come into general use as denoting the Highlanders, in the same manner as the word "*Erse*" is now frequently used to express their language: but inconclusive as it is, this charter cannot be admitted at all, as it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later times, and one by no means happy in its execution.

How such a tradition of the origin of the Mackenzies ever could have arisen, it is difficult to say; but the fact of their native and Gaelic descent is completely set at rest by the manuscript of 1450, which has already so often been the means of detecting the falsehood of the foreign origins of other clans. In that MS., the antiquity of which is perhaps as great, and its authenticity certainly much greater than the fragments of the Icolmkill records, the Mackenzies are brought from a certain Gilleon-og, or Colin the younger, a son of "*Gilleon na h'airde,*" the ancestor of the Rosses.

The descendants of Gilleon na h'airde we have already identified with the ancient tribe of Ross; and it follows, therefore, that the Mackenzies must always have formed an integral part of that tribe.

Until the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the Mackenzies held their lands of the earl of Ross, and always followed his banner in the field, and there is consequently little to be learned of their earlier history, until by the forfeiture of that earldom also they rose rapidly upon the ruins of the Macdonalds to the great power and extent of territory which they afterwards came to possess.

The first of this family who is known with certainty, appears to be "*Murdo filius Kennethi de Kintail,*" to whom a charter

is said to have been granted by David II. as early as the year 1362; and this is confirmed by the manuscript of 1450, the last two generations given in which are "Murcha, the son of Kenneth." After him we know nothing of the clan, until we find the chief among those Highland barons who were arrested by king James I., at his treacherous Parliament held at Inverness in 1427; and the clan appears by this time to have become one of very considerable strength and importance, for Kenneth More, their chief, is ranked as leader of two thousand men.

It was during the life of his son Murdoch that the earl of Ross and lord of the Isles was forfeited; on that occasion the chief of the Mackenzies did not neglect the opportunity so eagerly seized by the other clans that were dependent on the Macdonalds, but not connected by descent with that clan, to render himself altogether independent; and therefore he steadily opposed, to the utmost of his power, every attempt on the part of the Macdonalds to resume possession of the earldom which had been wrested from them. One of the principal attempts of the Macdonalds for this purpose was that of the rebellion under Alaster Mac Gillespic, the nephew of the last lord, when, after having succeeded in regaining possession of the Isles, he at length invaded Ross; but the Mackenzies were not willing to resign without a struggle their newly acquired independence. They accordingly exerted all the interest they could command to excite opposition to the attempt of Alaster Mac Gillespic upon Ross, and finally attacked him at the head of his own clan, together with a large body of the inhabitants of the country, near the river Connan. A fierce and obstinate engagement between the parties ensued, but the Macdonalds, being unable to cope with the numbers opposed to them, were at length completely overthrown with very great slaughter. This battle is known in history and in tradition by the name of the conflict of Blairnapark; after this, various other encounters took place between the Macdonalds, which ended in the complete independence of the former.

From this period the Mackenzies gradually increased, both in power and extent of territories, until they finally established themselves as one of the principal clans of the north, and in

the words of Sir Robert Gordon :—"From the ruins of the family of clan Donald and some of the neighbouring Highlanders, and also by their own virtue, the surname of the clan Kenzie, from small beginnings began to flourish in these bounds, and by the friendship and favour of the house of Sutherland, chiefly of earl John, fifth of that name, earl of Sutherland (whose chamberlains they were in receiving the rents of the earldom of Rosse to his use), their estate afterwards came to great height, yea, above divers of their more ancient neighbours." The establishment of the clan at once in so great power, upon the ruins of the Macdonalds, was much furthered by the character of the chief of the time, who appears to have been a person of considerable talent, and well fitted to seize every occasion of extending their influence. "In his time," says an ancient historian of the clan, "he purchased much of the Braelands of Ross, and secured both what he had acquired, and what his predecessors had, by well ordered and legal security—so that it is doubtful whether his predecessors' courage, or his prudence, contributed most to the rising of his family." The endeavours of the Mackenzies thus to possess themselves of a portion of the now scattered territories of the Macdonalds, had with them the same result as with the other clans engaged in pursuit of the same object, for they soon found themselves involved in bitter feuds with several branches of that great but fallen clan.

Proximity of situation, and peculiar circumstances, occasioned the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds to become their principal antagonists; and the causes of this feud, which for some time raged with great fierceness, and at length ended in the additional aggrandisement of the Mackenzies, and in the loss of a great part of Glengarry's possessions, are these: During the period when the earldom of Ross was held by Alexander, lord of the Isles, that chief bestowed a considerable extent of territory in Ross upon the second son Celestine. The descendants of Celestine having become extinct, after the failure of the various attempts which had been made to regain the possessions and dignities of the forfeited lord of the Isles, their estate in Ross descended to Macdonald of Glengarry, whose grandfather had married the heiress of that branch of

the Macdonalds. But these possessions were, from their proximity, looked upon with an envious eye by the Mackenzies, and they consequently attempted to expel the Macdonalds from them. Various success for some years attended the prosecution of this feud, and many atrocities had been committed on both sides, when Mackenzie resolved, by assistance from government and under cover of law, to obtain that which he had otherwise found himself unable to accomplish; and the mode of procedure adopted by him for this purpose is thus described by Sir Robert Gordon:—"The laird of Glengarry (one of the clan Donald) being inexpert and onskilful in the laws of the realme, the clan Chenzie easily entrapped him within the compass thereof, and secretly charged him (bot not personallie) to appear before the justice of Edinburgh, having in the meantime slayn two of his kinsmen. Glengarry, not knowing, or neglecting the charges and summons, came not to Edinburgh at the prefixt day, bot went about to revenge the slaughter of his kinsmen, whereby he was denounced rebell and outlawed, together with divers of his followers; so by means and credit of the earl of Dumfermlyn, lord chancellor of Scotland, Kenneth Mackenzie, lord of Kintayle, did purchase a commission against Glengarry and his men, whereby proceeded great slaughter and trouble." Mackenzie having thus obtained the authority and assistance of the government, and being joined by a party of men sent by the earl of Sutherland, soon succeeded in driving the Macdonalds from the disputed territory, and at length besieged the only remaining detachment of them, who occupied the castle of Strome.

After a siege of some duration, the Macdonalds were obliged to surrender, and the Mackenzies forthwith blew up the castle. He then invaded Glengarry at the head of a numerous body of troops, which he had collected for that purpose, and attacked the Macdonalds, who had taken arms in defence of their territory. The Macdonalds were beat, and their leader, Glengarry's eldest son, was killed, with great slaughter on both sides; the Macdonalds defended their possessions for a considerable period with such desperation, that at length Mackenzie, finding that he could not make any impression upon them in their own country, and Glengarry being aware that he had now little

chance of recovering the districts which had been wrested from him, the contending parties came to an agreement, and the result was, a crown charter obtained by Mackenzie to the disputed districts, being those of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, &c., with the castle of Strome. The charter is dated in the year 1607—“Thus doe the tryb of clan Kenzie become great in these pairts still encroaching upon their neighbours, who are unacquainted with the lawes of this kingdome.”

This Kenneth Mackenzie was soon after raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and his son Colin received the additional dignity of earl of Seaforth honours which they appear to have owed entirely to the great extent of territory which they had then acquired—“All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaven, were either the Mackenzies' property or under their vassalage, some very few excepted; and all about him were tied to his family by very strict bonds of friendship.”

The Mackenzies took an active share in all the attempts made by the Highland clans in support of the cause of the Stuarts, with the exception of the last; and having been twice forfeited, the dictates of prudence, strengthened by the eloquence of President Forbes, induced them to decline joining in that unfortunate insurrection.

In the next generations, however, the family became extinct and the estates have passed by the marriage of the heiress into the possession of a stranger.

Arms.

Az. a stag's head embossed, or.

Badge.

Deer-Grass.

Principal Seat.

Kintail.

Oldest Cadet.

Mackenzie of Gairloch.

Chief.

The family of the chief is said to be represented by Mackenzie of Allangrange.

Force.

In 1427, 2000. In 1704, 1200. In 1745, 2500.

Clan Mathan.

The Macmathans or Mathiesons are represented in the manuscript of 1450 as a branch of the Mackenzies, and their origin is deduced in that document from Mathan or Mathew, a son of Kenneth, from whom the Mackenzies themselves take their name.

This origin is strongly corroborated by tradition, which has always asserted the existence of a close intimacy and connexion between these two clans. The genealogy contained in the manuscript is also confirmed by the fact that the Norse account of Haco's expedition mentions that the earl of Ross, in his incursions among the Isles, which led to that expedition, was accompanied by *Kiarnakr*, son of *Makamals*, while at that very period in the genealogy of the manuscript occur the names of *Kenneth* and *Matganna* or Mathew, of which the Norse names are evidently a corruption.

Of the history of this clan we know nothing whatever. Although they are now extinct, they must at one time have been one of the most powerful clans in the north, for among the Highland chiefs seized by James I. at the Parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Bower mentions Macmaken, leader of two thousand men, and this circumstance affords a most striking instance of the rise and fall of different families; for, while the Mathison appears at that early period as the leader of two thousand men, the Mackenzie has the same number only, and we now see the clan of Mackenzie extending their numberless branches over a great part of the north, and possessing an extent of territory of which few families can exhibit a parallel, while the once powerful clan of the Mathisons has disappeared, and their name become nearly forgotten.

Siol Alpine.

The general appellation of Siol Alpine has been usually given to a number of clans situated at considerable distances from each other, but who have hitherto been supposed to possess a common descent, and that from Kenneth Macalpine, the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings. These clans are the clan Gregor, the Grants, the Mackinnons, Macquarries,

Macnabs, and Macaulays, and they have at all times claimed the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland clans. "S'rioghail mo dhream," my race is royal, was the proud motto of the Macgregors, and although the other Highland clans have for centuries acquiesced in the justice of that motto, yet this lofty boast must fall before a rigid examination into its truth. For the authority of the manuscript of 1450 puts it beyond all doubt that that origin was altogether unknown at that period, and that these clans in reality formed a part of the tribe of Ross.

The clans which formed the Siol Alpine seem to have differed from all others in this respect—that, so far back as they can be traced, they were always disunited, and although they acknowledged a common descent, yet at no time do they appear united under the authority of a common chief. But the principal tribe was always admitted to be that of clan Gregor, who, in the words of a late illustrious writer, are described to have been a race "famous for their misfortunes and the indomitable spirit with which they maintained themselves as a clan, linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws, executed with unheard-of rigour against those who bore this forbidden surname."

Clan Gregor.

A great deal of romantic interest has of late years been attached to the history of this clan from the conspicuous part which it performs in many of the productions of the inimitable author of the Waverley novels, by which their proscription and consequent sufferings have become familiar to every one. But in the following short sketch I shall only attempt to throw together as many authentic facts regarding their early history as are still to be traced. The earliest possession of this family appears to have been the district of Glenurchy in Lorn, and from that district all the other septs of clan Gregor proceeded, for the common ancestor of all these clans is in tradition styled Ey Urchaych, or Hugh of Glenurchy, and his epithet of Glenurchy apparently points him out as the first of the clan who took possession of that district. Glenurchy forms a part of those territories in Argyll which were forfeited by Alexander

the Second, and given to the principal chiefs in his army. As the earl of Ross had in particular joined him with a considerable force, and obtained no inconsiderable extent of territory in consequence, it is probable that Glenurchy was given to the chief of the Macgregors, at that time a vassal of the earl of Ross.

Glenurchy appears among the possessions of the Argyll family as early as the reign of David II., and was afterwards settled upon a second son of that family, who became the founder of the house of Braedalbane. But notwithstanding that the Campbells had thus a legal right to that district, the Macgregors maintained the actual possession of it as late as the year 1390, for in that year there is mention of the death of John Gregorii de Glenurchy, and from the earliest period in which this clan is mentioned, their whole possessions appear to have been held by them upon no other title than that of the "*Coir a glaive*," or right of the sword.

Prior to the death of John Macgregor, of Glenurchy, we are not acquainted with anything more of their history than the mere genealogy of the family. John Macgregor, who died in 1390, appears to have had three sons—Patrick, who succeeded him; John Dow, ancestor of the family of Glenstrae; and Gregor, ancestor of the family of Roro. Patrick appears, in addition to his lands in Glenurchy, to have possessed some property in Strathfillan, but the Campbells, who had obtained a feudal right to Glenurchy, and reduced the Macgregors to the situation of tenants at will, were apparently determined that they should not possess a feudal right to any property whatever. Malcolm, Patrick's son, was in consequence compelled to sell the lands of Auchinrevach in Strathfillan to Campbell of Glenurchy, who in this manner obtained the first footing in Braedalbane, and after this period the Macgregors did not possess one acre of land to which they had a feudal title. As long as the clan remained united under one chief, they were enabled to maintain possession of their ancient estates by the strong hand, but the policy of the Argyll family now occasioned the usual disunion among the various families of the clan. The chief of the Macgregors, with the principal families, had been reduced to the situation of tenants on the lands of the Campbells of Glenurchy, with one exception, viz., the family of Glenstray,

who held that estate as vassal of the earl of Argyll. From Glenurchy, the Macgregors experienced nothing but the extreme of oppression. The Argyll family, however, adopted the different policy of preserving the Macgregors on their property in a sufficient state of strength, to enable them to be of service to these wily lords in annoying their neighbours. The consequence of this was that the chief was for the time in no situation to protect his clan, and that the Glenstray family gradually assumed their station at the head of the clan with the title of captain, which they afterwards bore. The state of the principal branches of the clan now presented too favourable an opportunity for expelling them from the lands to be neglected, and accordingly the powerful families of Glenurchy, and others who had acquired a claim upon the chief of the Macgregors' lands, and were in the partial possession of them, appear at this time to have commenced a system of annoyance and oppression, which speedily reduced the clan to a state of lawless insubordination, and obliged them to have recourse to a life of robbery and plunder as their only means of subsistence. It was not unnatural that a spirit of retaliation should direct their attacks against those who thus acquired possession of their lands, but this conduct, though natural, considering the country and the time, was studiously represented at court as arising from an untameable and innate ferocity of disposition, which it was said nothing could remedy, "save cutting off the tribe of Macgregor, root and branch." And in truth, the treatment they had received had so utterly exasperated this unhappy clan, that it became the interest of these barons to extirpate them altogether, for which purpose every means was used to effect their object under the colour of law.

The minority of King James the Fourth having thrown the power of the state into the hands of the principal barons, they appear for the first time to have attained this object by means of the enactment obtained in the year 1488, "for staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme"; and among the barons to whom powers were given for enforcing the Act, we find Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Neill Stewart of Fortingall, and Ewine Campbell of Strachur. This Act must have fallen with peculiar severity upon the clan

Gregor, and of course must rather have aggravated than alleviated the evil apparently sought to be remedied. But in numbers the Macgregor was still a powerful clan. The chieftainship had been assumed by the Glenstray family, which was descended from John Dow, second son of John Macgregor, and they still in some degree maintained their footing in Glenurchy. Besides this, a great number of them were now settled in the districts of Braedalbane and Atholl, among whom were the families of Roro, descended from Gregor, third son of John Macgregor, and those of Brackly, Ardchoille and Glengyll, the only remaining descendants of the ancient chiefs; and those families, although they acknowledged Glenstray as the chief, were yet by distance and jealousy dissevered from that sept.

In order to reduce these branches, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy obtained, in 1492, the office of baliary of the crown lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlion and Glendochart, and the consequences of his obtaining this office speedily shewed themselves, for in 1502 he obtained a charter of the lands of Glenlion, and he seems nearly to have accomplished the extermination of the other families of Macgregor in his neighbourhood. From this period the history of the Macgregors consists of a mere list of acts of privy council, by which commissions are granted to pursue the clan with fire and sword, and of various atrocities which a state of desperation, the natural result of these measures, as well as a deep spirit of vengeance against both the framers and executors of them, frequently led the clan to commit. These actions led to the enactment of still severer laws, and at length to the complete proscription of the clan.

The slaughter of Drummond of Drummondernoch in the year 1589, and the conflict of Glenfruin in 1603, are well known to every one; the former affording a foundation for the incident detailed in Sir Walter Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, and the latter being the result of the remarkable raid of the Macgregors into Lennox, where they were opposed by the Colquhouns, whom they defeated with great slaughter. Previously to this latter event, the king, despairing of being able to reduce the clan, had constituted the earl of Argyll king's lieutenant and justice in the whole bounds inhabited by the clan Gregor, and this appointment was the means of at length effecting the utter

ruin of the tribe; for that politic nobleman, instead of driving the Macgregors to desperation, determined to use them as tools for executing his own vengeance on any of the neighbouring families who had the misfortune to offend him.

There seems little doubt that almost all the incursions of the clan after this period may be traced to that earl as their cause. But when the conflict of Glenfruin drew the attention of government once more upon them, the earl deemed it time to sacrifice his unfortunate instruments to the laws of his country. The chief of the clan Gregor was at this time Alaster Macgregor, of Glenstray, and the earl of Argyll having inveigled him into his power by a promise that he would convey him in safety to England and plead his cause at court, proceeded with him as far as Berwick; but having crossed the border, he declared that he had, to the letter, now fulfilled his promise, though not to the sense. He forthwith conveyed his victim back again to Edinburgh, and, after the form of a mock trial, had him hanged along with seven of his followers. But unfortunately for the fame of the earl, Macgregor had, before his death, made a declaration, which affords so curious an exposure of that nobleman's policy that we shall subjoin an extract from that document, as printed in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Vol. II., p. 435. "I, Alaster Macgregor, of Glenstray, confess heir before God, that I have been persudit, movit, and intycit, as I am now presently accusit and troublit for; also gif I had usit counsall or command of the man that has entysit me, I would have done and committit sindrie heich murthouris mair. For trewlie syn I wes first his majesties man, I could never be at ane eise, by my Lord of Argylls falshete and inventiones, for he causit Macklaine and Clanhamrowne commit herschip and slaughter in my roun of Rannoche, the quhilk causit my pure men thereafter to begg and steill, also thereafter he movit my brother and some of my friendes to commit baith heirschip and slaughter upon the Laird of Lues; also, he persuadit myself with message to weir againes the Laird of Boquhanene, whilk I did refuse, for the whilk I was contenuallie bostit that he would be my unfriend, and when I did refuse his desire in that point, then he entysit me with other messengeris, to weir and truble the Laird of Luss, quhilk I behuffit to do for his false boutgaittes; then

when he saw I was in ane strait, he causit me trow he was my gude friend, &c., but with fair wordes to put me in ane snare that he might get the land of Kintyre in feyell fra his majesty beganne to put at me and my kin. The quhilk Argyll inventit maist shamfullie, and persuadit the Laird of Ardkinglass to dissave me quha was the man I did maist traist into; but God did releif me in the meantyme to libertie maist narrowlie, &c. I declare befor God that he did all his craftie diligence to intyse me to slay and destroy the Laird of Ardinkaiple Mackally for ony ganes kyndness or friendship that he might do or give me. The quhilk I did refuse in respect of my faithful promise maid to Mackallay of befor; also he did all the diligence he culd to move me to slay the Laird of Ardkinglass in like manner. Bot I never grantit thereto. Throw the quhilk he did envy me gretumly, &c., &c."

The result of the representations which were made to the king against the Macgregors on account of this conflict, were the acts of proscription.

By an Act of the privy council, dated 3rd April, 1603, the name of Macgregor was expressly abolished, and those who had hitherto borne it were commanded to change it for other surnames, *the pain of death* being denounced against those who should call themselves Gregor or Macgregor, the names of their fathers. Under the same penalty, all who had been at the conflict of Glenfruin, or accessory to other marauding parties charged in the Act, were prohibited from carrying weapons, except a pointless knife to cut their victuals. By a subsequent Act of council, death was denounced against any persons of the tribe formerly called Macgregor, who should presume to assemble in greater numbers than four. And finally, by an Act of Parliament, 1607, c. 26, these laws were continued and extended to the rising generation, in respect that great numbers of the children of those against whom the Acts of privy council had been directed, were stated to be then approaching to maturity, who, if permitted to assume the name of their parents, would render the clan as strong as it was before. The execution of these severe and unjustifiable Acts having been committed principally to the earl of Argyll, with the assistance of the earl of Atholl in Perthshire, were enforced with unsparing rigour by

that nobleman, whose interest it now was to exterminate the clan; and on the part of the unfortunate Macgregors were resisted with the most determined courage, obtaining sometimes a transient advantage, and always selling their lives dearly.

After the death of Alaster of Glenstray, that branch of the Macgregors remained nominally captains and chiefs of the clan, with little real power over the other houses of the clan, until the end of the seventeenth century, when they appear to have become extinct; although when Montrose raised his Highland army greater part of the clan Gregor joined him under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstray. The Brackly family, however, seem constantly to have asserted their right to the chiefship, and at length, when the clan obtained full redress from the British government, by an Act abolishing for ever the penal statutes which had so long been imposed upon this race, they entered into a deed recognizing John Murray of Lanrick, afterwards Sir John Macgregor, Baronet, representative of this family, as lawfully descended from the ancient stock and blood of the lairds and lords of Macgregor, and therefore acknowledged him as their chief. This deed was subscribed by eight hundred and twenty-six persons of the name of Macgregor capable of bearing arms, and in this manner the descendant of the ancient chiefs of the clan again assumed the station at the head of the clan which his ancestors had possessed, and to which he was entitled by the right of blood.

Their claim, however, is opposed by the Glengyle family, to which branch belonged the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy, whose deeds have been lately brought so conspicuously before the public.

Arms.

Argent, a sword in bend azure, and a fir tree eradicated in bend sinister proper; in chief, a crown gules.

Badge.

Pine.

Principal Seat.

Glenorchy.

Oldest Cadet.

The Macgregors of Glenstray were oldest cadets and captains for a period of two centuries.

Chief.

Sir Evan Macgregor Murray, Baronet.

Force.

In 1745, 700.

Clan Grant.

Nothing certain is known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman, and of Gaelic extraction; but each of these suppositions depends for support upon conjecture alone, and amidst so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to fix upon the most probable. It is maintained by the supporters of their Gaelic origin, that they are a branch of the Macgregors, and in this opinion they are certainly borne out by the ancient and unvarying tradition of the country; for their Norman origin, I have upon examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French, grand or great, and that they occasionally use the Norman form of de Grant. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form de Grant until the fifteenth century; on the contrary, the form is invariably Grant or le Grant, and on the very first appearance of the family it is "dictus Grant." It is certainly not a territorial name, for there was no ancient property of that name, and the peculiar form under which it invariably appears in the earlier generations, proves that the name is derived from a personal epithet. It so happens, however, that there was no epithet so common among the Gael as that of Grant, as a perusal of the Irish annals will evince; and at the same time Ragman's Roll shews that the Highland epithets always appear among the Norman signatures with the Norman "le" prefixed to them. The clan themselves unanimously assert their descent from Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the twelfth century; and this is supported by their using to this day the same badge of distinction. So strong is this belief in both the clans of Grant and Macgregor, that in the early part of the last century a meeting of the two was held in the Blair of Atholl, to consider the policy of re-uniting them.

Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be Macgregor, if the reversal of the attainder of that name could be got from government. If that could not be obtained it was agreed that either Mac Alpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the clan Alpine lasted for fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan. Here, then, is as strong an attestation of a tradition as it is possible to conceive, and when to this is added the utter absence of the name in the old Norman rolls, the only trustworthy mark of a Norman descent, we are warranted in placing the Grants among the Siol Alpine.

The first of this family who appear on record are Domini Laurentius et Robertus dicti Grant, who are witnesses to an agreement between Archibald, Bishop of Moray, and John Bisset, dated in September, 1258, and they are said to have been the sons of Gregory de Grant, who acquired the lands of Stratherrick by marriage with a Bisset. This is so far borne out, that there is reason to think that Stratherrick was the earliest possession which the Grants had, and remained for some time in the family, while we find in Alexander the Third's reign a charter to Walter Bisset of Stratherrick. By this marriage the Grants at once took their place as barons of considerable power, and accordingly we find Laurence Grant bearing the high office of sheriff of Inverness in the reign of Alexander III., and taking a leading part in the transactions of that period. Laurence still further increased the possessions of the family by marrying the daughter and heiress of the baron of Glencharny, in Strathspey, and obtained, in consequence, an extensive tract of country on the north side of the Spey. From this period the family took the name of Glencharny; and it seemed as if the family were to owe their whole advancement to their fortunate marriages, for Laurence's son and successor, Gilbert de Glencharny, added to his other possessions a considerable extent of property in the counties of Elgin and Banff, by marriage with Margaret Wiseman, heiress of the Wisemans of Molben. Gilbert had but one son, of the same name, by whose death without issue these properties came to his sister Christina, with the exception of Stratherrick, which descended to the male

heir,¹ Malcolm le Grant, probably a descendant of Robert, the younger son of Gregory the Grant. Christina had married Duncan Fraser, a cadet of the house of Lovat, and Fraser, finding that a peaceable possession of these properties in the midst of the clan Grant and at a distance from his own chief, was not to be expected, exchanged the properties in Strathspey with Malcolm Grant for that of Stratherrick, which its vicinity to Lovat rendered the more desirable possession for a Fraser. In this manner the greater part of Strathspey remained in the possession of the chief of the Grants, while their original property went into the family of the Frasers.

After Malcolm we know little of the Grants, until we find Duncan Grant de eodem at the head of the clan in the middle of the fifteenth century, and from this period they began gradually to increase in extent of possessions and of power, until they rose to be a clan of no ordinary importance.

At different periods they acquired Glenmorison, Glenurchart, and many other estates, and continued in the ranks of the principal clans, until at length the extinction of the noble family of Finlater added the peerage of Seafield to their former possessions.

Arms.

Gules, three antique crowns, or.

Badge.

Cranberry heath.

Principal Seat.

Strathspey.

Oldest Cadet.

The Sliochd Phadrick, or Grants of Tullochgorum, appear to have been oldest cadets.

Chief.

Grant of Grant, now Earl of Seafield.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 850.

Clan Fingon.

Of the history of this clan but little is known; having settled at a very early period in the island of Sky, they became followers of the lords of the Isles, in whose history

¹ Robertson's Index.

they are very often mentioned, but they do not appear to have been engaged in many transactions by which their name is separately brought forward as a clan. Although so great a distance intervened between the country of the Macgregors and that of this family, they are unquestionably a branch of the former clan. In the MS. of 1450 they are brought from Finguine, a brother of Anrias or Andrew, who appears in the Macgregor genealogy about the year 1130. This connexion is farther proved by a bond of friendship entered into between Lauchlan Mackinnon, of Strathardill, and James Macgregor, of Macgregor, in 1671, in which bond, "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra twa breethern of auld descent*, quhairfore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas be the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin friends and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all wha live or die."

In consequence of their connexion with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan, and the internal state of these tribes during the government of the lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, the elder brother was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland.

The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance.

On the forfeiture of the last lord, Mackinnon became inde-

pendent, but his clan was so small that he never attained any very great power in consequence. In the disturbances in the Isles which continued during the following century, the name of Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon occurs very frequently, and he appears, notwithstanding the small extent of his possessions, to have been a man of some consideration in his time. From this period they remained in the condition of the minor clans in the Highlands, and with them took a part in all the political events in which these clans were engaged.

Clan An Aba.

The Macnabs have been said by some to have been Macdonalds, by others, Macgregors; but there exists a bond of Manrent, dated 1606, which proves them to have been a branch of the Mackinnons, and consequently of the Siol Alpine. This bond was entered into between Lachlan Mackinnon, of Strathardel, and Finlay Macnab, of Bowaine, and narrates that "happening to foregadder togedder with certain of the said Finlay's friends in their rooms, in the Laird of Glenurchay's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay *having come of one house and being of one surname* and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygone oversaw their awn duties till uders in respect of the long distance and betwixt their dwelling places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all time coming are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance, and service that lies in them ilk ane to uthers: *The said Finlay acknowledging the said Lauchlan as ane kind chieff, and of ane house:* and likelike the said Lauchlan to acknowledge the said Finlay Macnab, his friend, as his special kynsman and friend."

This account of their origin is fully confirmed by the MS. of 1450.

The Macnabs originally possessed considerable territories lying west of Loch Tay, but having followed Lorn in the opposition which he made to the Bruce, and having taken a conspicuous part in that struggle, their possessions were, on the accession of that monarch, restricted to the barony of

Bowain, in Glendochard, to which they have a charter as early as 1536.

The Macnabs remained for a long time an independent clan in the heart of the possessions of the Campbells, and adopted a different line of politics from these great lords. The line of their chiefs, however, has at length become extinct, and their property is now in possession of the Braedalbane family.

Clan Duffie.

The Macduffies or Macphees are the most ancient inhabitants of Colonsay, and their genealogy, which is preserved in the manuscript of 1450, evinces their connexion by descent with the Macgregors and Mackinnons, among whom accordingly they have been placed. Of their early history nothing is known, and the only notice regarding their chiefs at that period, is one which strongly confirms the genealogy contained in the MS. On the south side of the church of St. Columba, according to Martin, lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, along with this inscription—

“Hic Iacet Malcolumbus Macduffie de Colonsay.”

And in the genealogy the name of Malcolm occurs at a period which corresponds with the supposed date of the tombstone. The Macduffies certainly remained in possession of Colonsay as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, for we find them mentioned on several occasions during the troubles of that period; but they appear at that time to have been nearly exterminated, as we find in the criminal records for 1623, Coil Mac Gillespic Macdonald, in Colonsay (afterwards the celebrated Collkitto), was “delaitit of airt and pairt of the felonie and cruell slaughter of Umquhill Malcolm Macphie of Colonsay,” with others of his clan. From this period their estate seems to have gone into the possession of the Macdonalds, and afterwards of the Macneills, by whom it is still held; while the clan gradually sunk until they were only to be found, as at present, forming a small part of the inhabitants of Colonsay.

Clan Quarrie.

The Macquarries first appear in possession of the island of Ulva and part of Mull, and like the Mackinnons, their situation forced them, at a very early period, to become dependent upon the Macdonalds. But their descent from the clan Alpine, which has constantly been asserted by tradition, is established by the manuscript 1450, which deduces their origin from Guaire or Godfrey, a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors. The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the headquarters of their race, they became dependent upon the lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had been a branch of the clan.

On the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, they became, like the Mackinnons, in a manner independent, and although surrounded by various powerful clans, they maintained their station, which was that of a minor clan, without apparently undergoing any alteration; and survived many of the revolutions of fortune to which the greater clans were exposed in the same station, bearing among the other clans the character of great antiquity, and of having once been greater than they now were.

Clan Aul.

The Macaulays, of Ardincaple, have for a long period been considered as deriving their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and it has generally been assumed, without investigation, that their ancestor was Aulay, son of Aulay, who appears in Ragman Roll, and whose father, Aulay, was brother of Maldowan, earl of Lennox. Plausible as this derivation may appear, there are yet two circumstances which render it impossible, and establish the derivation of the clan to have been very different.

In the first place, it is now ascertained that these Aulays were of the family of de Fasselane, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom, and among the numerous deeds relating to this family in the Lennox chartulary, there is no mention of any other son of Aulay than Duncan de Fasselane, who

succeeded to the earldom and left no male issue. Secondly, there exists a bond of friendship entered into between Macgregor of Glenstray and Macaulay of Ardincaple, upon the 27th May, 1591, in which the latter owns his being a cadet of the house of the former, and promises to pay him the "Calp." There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Macaulays were a branch of the clan Alpine, and the mistake as to their origin has probably arisen from the similarity of name, and from their situation necessarily making them, for the time, followers of the earl of Lennox.

The Macaulays appear to have settled, at a very early period, in the Lennox, and the first chiefs who are mentioned in the Lennox chartulary are designed "de Ardincapill." Their connexion with the Macgregors led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the Macaulays from the consequences which fell so heavily upon the Macgregors. The Macaulays never rose above the rank of a minor clan, and like many others in a similar situation, they have latterly become extinct.

CHAPTER IX.

IV.—GARMORAN.

IN the oldest list of the Scottish earldoms which has been preserved, appears the name of Garmoran. There was afterwards a lordship of Garmoran, consisting of the districts of Knoydart, Morer, Arisaig, and Moydart; and the situation of this lordship indicates the position of the earldom to have been between north and south Argyll, including, besides the lordship of the same name, the districts of Glenelg, Ardnamurchan, and Morvern.

At no period embraced by the records do we discover Garmoran as an efficient earldom; but as the polity of earldoms was introduced by Edgar, its appearance in the old lists proves that it lasted in the possession of its native earls till after his reign. The grant by Alexander III. of a great part of the earldom as a lordship of the same name, likewise proves that it must have been for some time in the crown.

In consequence of a singular mistake of our earlier historians, the existence of this earldom has been entirely forgotten, and its history merged in that of another earldom, of nearly the same name. Garmoran is known to the Highlanders by the name of Garbhcriochan, or the rough bounds. The identity of the first syllables of the two names shews that the name of Garmoran is descriptive of the district, and that it is properly Moran, with the prefixed qualification of garbh or rough. Now it is remarkable, that there is a Lowland earldom bearing the same name, without the prefixed qualification of *Rough*, for the old name of the Merns is Moerne. The name is certainly descriptive of the situation of the earldom, and must have been imposed at a very early period; but it is singular, that with reference to the Pictish nation, the original inhabitants of both,

their position is identic, for the Merns bears exactly the same position towards the southern Picts, forming a sort of wedge-like termination to their territories, which Garmoran does to the northern Picts. There can therefore be little doubt of the absolute identity of the names of these two earldoms.¹

The people and earls of Moerne are frequently mentioned in the older chronicles, principally as rebelling, along with the Moravians, against the government. It has invariably been assumed that Moerne here implies the Lowland Merns, but the constant and close connexion between the people of Moerne and the Moravians in the history of the Scottish rebellions has been remarked by historians as singular and inexplicable.

If, by the Moerne, the Northern earldom is meant, which is adjacent to Moray, the connexion is natural, but it is impossible to account either for the language of the chronicles, or for the circumstances themselves, if it is to be understood of the Lowland Merns.

This will appear more clearly from a review of the particular instances in which the name occurs. Moerne is mentioned in ancient chronicles four times:—

I. In A.D. 950, Malcolm, king of Scotland, went into Moray, and slew Cellach, and shortly afterwards he is slain by the Viri na Moerne, or Men of the Moerne in Fodresach. Cellach we can prove to have been Maormor of neither Moray nor Ross. He must have been of some neighbouring Maormorship. If Moerne is Moran in the north, the transaction is natural; the king slew their chief, and was slain by them in Forres. If the Merns, we neither know why the first event should have been mentioned or the second taken place. Moreover, another authority says he was slain by the Moravians at Uluin. Uluin was near Forres. We see how the Moravians might have been mistaken for the people of Garmoran—not for the Merns—or how the people of the Merns should have been in Moray.

II. Duncan, king of Scotland, is slain A.D. 1094 by Malpeder Macloen, Comite de Moerne. This, however, could not have been the Southern Merns, because we have strong reason to

¹ In the red book of Clanranald, the name Morshron, pronounced Moran, and signifying "great nose," is applied to the districts forming the earldom of Garmoran.

think that until the reign of Edgar some time after, the Merns formed a part of the Maormorship of Angus. The older historians all agree that Merns was originally a part of Angus and it certainly was so in the tenth century, for when Kenneth, the third king of Scotland, was slain by the daughter of the earl of Angus, the scene of his slaughter is placed by the old chronicles in Fettercairn in the Merns. The ancient dioceses of the Culdee church, however, afford the most certain information as to the number and extent of the Maormorships previous to the reign of Edgar, and they place the matter beyond a doubt, for the diocese of Brechin unquestionably included the Merns along with Angus, and prove that it must have formed a part of the Maormorship of Angus until the reign of Edgar. If the earl who slew king Duncan was earl of Garmoran, the event is more intelligible, for he did so for the purpose of placing Donald Bane on the throne; and Donald, we know, received the principal support from the Celtic inhabitants of the west.

III. Alexander I. in his palace at Invergowry is attacked by the "Satellites" of Moerne and Moray. He drives them *across the Month*—across the Spey and over "the Stockfurd into Ros."

"And tuk and slew thame or he past
Out of that land, that fewe he left
To tak on hand swyik purpose eft."

The connexion between Moray and Garmoran is intelligible—not so if this was Merns; for it is quite impossible to account for the people of the Merns taking refuge in Ross, when the Grampians would afford them a securer retreat in their own neighbourhood. The language of Winton, however, is quite inconsistent with the supposition that the Southern Merns is here meant; if by this, the Northern Moerne or Garmoran is here meant, it agrees with our previous deduction, that the earldom must have been forfeited after the reign of Edgar.

It is thus plain that these transactions are connected with the Northern Moran only, and we trace from them three of the old earls of Garmoran.

1. Cellach, slain by Malcolm, king of Scotland, A.D. 950.
2. Cellach, who appears in the Sagas under the name of

Gilli; he lived A.D. 990—1014, and was certainly Maormor of this district.

3. Malpeder Macleon, forfeited by Alexander I.

The earldom of Garmoran remained in the crown until the reign of Alexander III., with the exception of Glenelg, which had been given to the Bissets, A.D. 1160, and the support of the great chiefs of the Macdonalds at the convention of 1283 was purchased by the grant of Ardnamurchan to Angus More of the Isles, and of the remaining part of the earldom to Allan Mac Rory, lord of the Isles, under the name of the Lordship of Garmoran.

The ancient inhabitants of the earldom can, however, be traced by the assistance of the old manuscript genealogies. The various clans are, as we have seen by these genealogies divided into five tribes, of which four can be identified with the tribes of the Gallgael, Moray, Ross, and Ness. The fifth consists of the Macleods and the Campbells, who are, by the oldest genealogies, deduced from a common ancestor. These two clans must have taken their descent from some of the ancient tribes, and we ought to find in their early history traces of a connexion with the earldom from which they proceed. The earliest charter which the Macleods possess is one from David II. to Malcolm, the son of Tormad Macleod, of two-thirds of Glenelg. He could not have acquired this by a marriage connection, and as these two-thirds came to the crown by forfeiture of the Bissets, it bears a strong resemblance to a vassal receiving his first right from the crown, and consequently an old possessor. Glenelg, however, was in Garmoran, and the connection of the Macleods with this earldom is strongly corroborated by the fact that in their oldest genealogy occur two Cellachs, grandfather and grandson, exactly contemporary with the two earls of Garmoran of that name.

The Campbells are not old in Argyll proper, or the sheriffdom of Argyll; it was, we know, the peculiar property of Somerled II., and we have distinct authority for its being planted with strangers. Campbell's ancestor was made sheriff by Alexander II.; his successor adhered to government, and received many grants of land in the sheriffdom, so that we should expect to find traces of his original property in the

possession of cadets, who came off before his acquisition of property in Argyll.

Allan Mac Rory obtained a grant of the lordship of Garmoran about 1275; his feudal heir was his daughter Christina, and her first act of possession is a charter *Arthuro Campbell filio Domini Arthuro Campbell militis de terris de Muddeward Ariseg et Mordower et insulis de Egge et Rumme et pertineri*.

Christina was never in actual though in feudal possession of the lordship, for though vera hæres, her nephew Ronald¹ was verus dominus, this is therefore apparently a feudal right given to an old possessor, otherwise we do not see its object.

Thus, when we find from the manuscript genealogies that the Macleods and Campbells were branches of the same ancient tribe, and when we find that the oldest notices of each tribe separately, connect them with the district of Garmoran, there can be little doubt that these two clans are the remaining descendants of the ancient inhabitants of that district.

Clan Leod.

There are few clans whose Norwegian origin has been more strenuously asserted or more generally believed than that of the Macleods, and yet, for that origin there is not the vestige of authority. In this matter it is usual to find the chronicle of Man referred to as expressly sanctioning the assertion, and this reference has been again and again repeated, but notwithstanding the confidence with which this chronicle has been quoted as authority, it is a singular circumstance that that record is nevertheless destitute of the slightest hint of any such origin, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea. Neither does the tradition of Norwegian descent, if such a tradition ever did exist, appear to be very old, for in a manuscript genealogy of the Macleods, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent, but, on the contrary, as we have seen, they are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran.

¹ Ronald and Christina are so styled in a charter in the Inchaffray Chartulary.

From the earliest period in which the Macleods are mentioned in history, they have been divided into two great families of Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, and Macleod of Lewis, and these families have for a considerable period disputed as to which of them the right of chief belongs. As occurs in the somewhat parallel case of the Macneils, this dispute appears to have arisen from the possessions of the Macleods having necessarily been so little connected together, and from both families being nearly of equal power and consequence; but from the few data which have remained to guide us on this point there seems every reason to think, that Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, was of old the proper chief of the clan. Macleod of Harris was originally invariably designated "de Glenelg" and Glenelg was certainly the first and chief possession of the clan. In various charters of the fifteenth century, to which the heads of both families happen to be witnesses, Macleod de Glenelg always appears before that of Macleod of Lewis, and finally the possessions of the Lewis family formed no part of the original possessions of the clan, for the first charter of the family of Lewis is one by king David II., to Torquil Macleod of the barony of Assint. And it is certain that Torquil obtained this barony by marriage with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of the lands, and in that charter he is not designated "de Lewis," *nor has he any designation whatever*. These facts seem conclusive that the claim of Macleod of Harris to be chief of the clan is well founded, and that the marriage of a younger son of that family with the heiress of Assgut and Lewis gave rise to the family of Macleods of Lewis, who were the oldest cadets of the clan, and who soon came to rival the family of the chief in power and extent of territory.

The original possessions of the Macleods then appears to have been Glenelg, of which district King David II. grants a charter to Malcolm, the son of Tormod Macleod, and the reddendo of the charter is to keep a galley with thirty-six oars for the use of the king. The Macleods are said to have acquired the extensive lands in Sky, which they still hold, by marriage with the daughter of Macraild, or Macarailt, one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles; and from this connexion, and the succession which was obtained by it, arose probably

the tradition of their being descended from the Norwegian kings of the Isles. Malcolm was succeeded by his son William, who, although from his having been a younger son, he had been brought up for the church, appears to have involved himself in numberless feuds with the neighbouring clans, and to have become one of the most noted and daring of the restless chiefs of that period.

Among the first of his plundering incursions he ravaged the estates of Lovat in the Aird, in order to avenge an insult which he had received in that country in his youth. He afterwards on some occasion called down upon himself the resentment of the lord of the Isles, who invaded his estates with a considerable body of Macdonalds; William Macleod, however, possessed no small portion of military skill, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, he succeeded in surprising the Macdonalds at a place called Lochsligichan, where he defeated them with great slaughter. But notwithstanding this feud with the Macdonalds, John Macleod, his successor, is said to have followed the banner of Donald of the Isles in his invasion of Scotland in 1411, and to have taken a part in the battle of Harlaw.

From the accession of the Macdonalds to the earldom of Ross, the Macleods seem to have acknowledged them as their lords, and to have followed them on all occasions. On the unfortunate dissension occurring between John, the last lord of the Isles, and his son Angus Ogg, when both parties at length took to arms, the one to reduce a rebellious son, and the other to depose a person whom he considered incapable of governing his extensive territories, Macleod of Glenelg embraced the cause of the injured father, and took an active share in the civil war which thus divided the Macdonalds and finally caused their ruin. He was present at the battle of the Bloody Bay and lost his life in that unnatural engagement.

On the forfeiture of the last lord, the Macleods, as well as the other clans connected with the Macdonalds, assumed independence, and in consequence Alexander Macleod received from king James IV. a crown charter of all his lands, which included those of Harris and his extensive possessions in Sky; which charter narrates that these lands were held of the earls of Ross and lords of the Isles before their forfeiture.

but were now to be held of the crown upon condition of holding in readiness one ship of twenty-six oars, and two of sixteen, for the king's service when required. After this period, the Macleods, like the other clans who had formerly been dependent upon the Macdonalds, appear to have become involved in a succession of feuds with the remaining branches of that great but now reduced clan, and these feuds seem to have been prosecuted with all the bitterness and barbarity of the age. The Macleods took an active share in the conflicts and mutual injuries inflicted upon each other in the contest between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla, towards the end of the sixteenth century, and by means of their support were mainly instrumental in causing the success of the former, and consequent ruin of the latter. But the most barbarous perhaps of any of these feuds was that carried on between the Macleods themselves and the clan Ranald.

The Macleods had long been in a state of irritation against the latter, in consequence of the bad treatment which a daughter of Macleod of Glenelg had some time before experienced from her husband, the captain of clan Ranald, and they only waited for a fitting occasion to satisfy their vengeance on that ground. Towards the close of the sixteenth century an opportunity presented itself, when a small party of Macleods having accidentally landed on the island of Egg, they were at first received with hospitality, but having been guilty of some incivilities to the young women of the island, the inhabitants resented it so far as to bind them hand and foot and turn them adrift in their boat to perish if assistance did not reach them; they had the good fortune, however, to be met by a boat of their own clansmen, and brought to Dunbegan, where they gave an account of the treatment they had met with. Macleod eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of executing his long meditated revenge on the clan Ranald, and having manned his galleys, set sail for the island of Egg. When the inhabitants became aware of his approach, and feeling conscious of their inability to offer any effectual resistance against the force that threatened them, they took refuge, along with their wives and families, to the amount of two hundred, in a large cave, the situation and difficult discovery of which

rendered it admirably adapted for concealment. Here for two days they succeeded in eluding the search of the Macleods, which was pursued with ineffectual industry, until at length their retreat was discovered in consequence of their impatience having led them to send forth a scout; when they refused to surrender themselves to the pleasure of the Macleod, he caused the stream of water which fell over the entrance of the cave to be turned aside; and having caused all the combustibles to be found on the island, had them piled up against the entrance, and so furious a fire maintained for many hours that every creature within was suffocated; thus, at one blow, exterminating the entire population of the island. This atrocity was one of the worst instances arising out of the feuds which at that period distracted the whole Highlands, and by which one family rose upon the ruins of another.

The possessions and power of the Macleods appear to have been very much increased by Sir Rorie More Macleod, and it was during his life that the rival family of Lewis became extinct,—a circumstance which, as it removed the division and disagreement hitherto existing in the clan, also tended to render the family of still greater influence. During the civil wars of the seventeenth century, the Macleods joined the royal army with seven hundred men, and took an active share in all the campaigns of that period; but when the clans again took arms in support of the cause of that family, the Macleods were induced, by the persuasion and active urgency of the Laird of Culloden, to abstain from taking any share in that insurrection, and while their presence would not probably have altered the ultimate result, they thereby escaped the numerous forfeitures of the period.

Arms.

Az. a castle triple towered and embattled, or, masoned sa. windows and port, gu.

Badge.

Red whortle-berries.

Principal Seat.

Glenelg.

Oldest Cadet.

Macleod of Lewis, now represented by Macleod of Rasay.

Chief.

Macleod of Macleod.

Force.

In 1704, 700. In 1715, 1000. In 1745, 700.

Clan Campbell.

To the Campbells a Norman origin has been very generally ascribed, and this numerous clan, who, although their possessions in Argyllshire were at first small, rapidly rose to considerable eminence, seems of late to have been tacitly surrendered by the supporters of the Celtic race to their antagonists, the admirers of William the Norman's motley band, yet no clan do these southern antiquaries claim more unjustly. Their claim is principally founded upon the assumption that the name Campbell is a mere corruption of that of de Campo Bello, which they assert to have been a Norman family. Now to this the answer is easy, for there never was a Norman family of the name of Campo Bello. Battel Abbey and other Rolls, Doomsday Book, and similar records, are equally silent about them, while the farther back we trace the spelling of the Scotch name, the more unlike does it become to his supposed Campo Bello, the oldest spelling of it, that in Ragman Roll, being Cambel or Kambel. There is thus no authority whatever for their Norman descent; and while the most ancient manuscript genealogies attest their Gaelic origin, the history of the earldom of Garmoran proves, as we have seen, that they formed a part of the ancient inhabitants of that district. There is one feature, however, in the tale of their Norman descent which deserves attention. While they say that their ancestor was a Norman de Campo Bello, they add that he acquired his Argyllshire property by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Paul O'Duin, lord of Lochow. This story is so exactly similar to those in the other clans, where the oldest cadet had usurped the chiefship, that it leads to the suspicion that the same circumstance must have given rise to it among the Campbells. We have shewn it to be invariably the case, that when a clan claims a foreign origin, and accounts for their possession of the chiefship and property of the clan by a marriage with the

heiress of the old proprietors, they can be proved to be in reality a cadet of that older house who had usurped the chiefship, while their claim to the chiefship is disputed by an acknowledged descendant of that older house. To this rule the Campbells are no exceptions, for while the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of the other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married, and the Macarthur Campbells, of Strachur, the acknowledged descendants of the older house, have at all times disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family. Judging from analogy, we are compelled to admit that the Campbells of Strachur must formerly have been chiefs of the clan, and that the usual causes in such cases have operated to reduce the Strachur family, and to place that of Argyll in that situation, and this is confirmed by the early history of the clan.

The first appearance of the Campbells is in the reign of Alexander III., and we find them at that time divided into two great families, afterwards distinguished by the patronymics of Mac Arthur and Mac Cailinmor.

The first notice of the Mac Cailinmor branch is Gillespie Cambel, who witnesses the charter of erection of the Burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1266, and there is the strongest reason to think that he was heritable sheriff of the sheriffdom of Argyll, which had been erected by Alexander II. in 1221. It is certain, however, that until the reign of Robert the Bruce, the Campbells did not possess an heritable right to any property in Argyllshire. The situation of the Mac Arthur branch at this time was very different, for we find them in possession of a very extensive territory in the earldom of Garmoran, the original seat of the Campbells. It is therefore impossible to doubt that Mac Arthur was at this time at the head of the clan, and this position he appears to have maintained until the reign of James I. Arthur Campbell of this branch embraced the cause of Robert the Bruce, as well as Sir Neil Campbell, the son of Colinmore, and appears to have been as liberally rewarded by that monarch with the forfeited lands of his opponents. He obtained the keeping of the

Castle of Dunstaffnage, with a considerable part of the forfeited territory of Lorn, and his descendants added Strachur in Cowall, and a considerable part of Glendochart and Glenfalloch, to their former possessions. In the reign of David II. the Mac Cailinmor branch, who since the marriage of Sir Neil with the sister of Robert Bruce had been rapidly increasing in power and extent of territory, appear to have taken the first steps towards placing themselves at the head of the clan, but were successfully resisted by Mac Arthur, who obtained a charter, *Arthurus Campbell quod nulli subjicitur pro terris nisi regi*; and the Mac Arthurs appear to have maintained this station until the reign of James I., when they were doomed to incur that powerful monarch's resentment, and to be in consequence so effectually crushed as to offer no further resistance to the encroaching power of Mac Cailinmor.

When James I. summoned his parliament at Inverness for the purpose of entrapping the Highland chiefs, John Mac Arthur was one of those who fell into the snare, and he seems to have been among the few especially devoted to destruction, for he was beheaded along with Alexander, the lord of Garmoran, and his whole property forfeited, with the exception of Strachur and some lands in Perthshire, which remained to his descendants. His position at the head of the clan is sufficiently pointed out by Bower, who calls him "*princeps magnus apud suos et dux mille hominum*," but from this period the Mac Cailinmore branch were unquestionably at the head of the clan, and their elevation to the peerage, which took place but a few years after, placed them above the reach of dispute from any of the other branches of the clan. The Strachur family, in the meantime, remained in the situation of one of the principal of the Ceann Tighe, preserving an unavailing claim to the position of which they had been deprived. After this period the rise of the Argyll family to power and influence was rapid, and the encroachments which had commenced with the branches of their own clan soon involved most of the clans in their neighbourhood; and their history is most remarkable from their extraordinary progress from a station of comparative inferiority to one of unusual eminence, as well as from the constant and steady adherence

of all the barons of that house to the same deep system of designing policy by which they attained their greatness.

It would be inconsistent with the limits of this work to follow the history of this family farther, and the omission is of the less importance, as during the early part their history is identic with that of all the other Highland clans of no great notoriety; while in the later part, when they began to rise upon the ruins of the great families of the Isles, it becomes in some degree the same with that of the Highlanders generally, and consists principally of the details of a policy characterised by cunning and perfidy, although deep and far-sighted, and which obtained its usual success in the acquisition of great temporal grandeur and power.

Arms.

Gyronne of eight, or, and sable.

Badge.

Myrtle.

Principal Seat.

Originally the lordship of Garmoran, afterwards Lochow.

Oldest Cadet.

Maccailinmore, or Campbell of Lochow, now Duke of Argyll, was oldest cadet, but has been at the head of the clan since 1427.

Chief.

Previous to 1427, Macarthur Campbell of Strachur.

Force.

In 1427, 1000. In 1715, 4000. In 1745, 5000.

V.—CAITHNESS.

The northern districts of Scotland were those which were most early exposed to the ravages of the Norwegians, and it was in these districts where they effected their first permanent settlement in Scotland. But the nature of the country itself had always a considerable influence upon the effect produced on the population by the Norwegian settlements. Where the country was open and exposed the population was in general altogether changed, and in process of time became purely Norse; but where the conquered districts possessed in whole or in part the mountainous, and at that period, almost inaccessible character of the rest of the Highlands, the actual

population commonly remained Gaelic, although the chiefs were reduced to subjection and became tributary to the Norwegians. This distinction in the character of the different conquered districts can be traced without difficulty in the Sagas, and these invaluable records afford sufficient reason for thinking that a considerable portion of the Gaelic population remained, notwithstanding the long occupation of the country by the Norwegians. The districts which were subjected to the most permanent occupation of the Norwegians in Scotland, were those of Caithness, Ness, and Sudrland, or Sutherland.

The district of Caithness was originally of much greater extent than the modern county of that name, as it included the whole of the extensive and mountainous district of Strathnaver. Towards the middle of the tenth century the Norwegian Iarl of Orkney obtained possession of this province, and with the exception of a few short intervals, it continued to form a part of his extensive territories for a period of nearly two hundred years. The district of Strathnaver, which formed the western portion of the ancient district of Caithness, differed very much in appearance from the rest of it, exhibiting indeed the most complete contrast which could well be conceived, for while the eastern division was in general low, destitute of mountains, and altogether of a Lowland character, Strathnaver possessed the characteristics of the rudest and most inaccessible of Highland countries; the consequence of this was, that while the population of Caithness proper became speedily and permanently Norse, that of Strathnaver must, from the nature of the country, have remained in a great measure Gaelic; and this distinction between the two districts is very strongly marked throughout the Norse Sagas, the eastern part being termed simply *Katenesi*, while Strathnaver, on the other hand, is always designated "*Döllum a Katenesi*," or the Glens of Caithness. That the population of Strathnaver remained Gaelic we have the distinct authority of the Sagas, for they inform us that the *Döllum*, or glens, were inhabited by the "*Gaddgedli*," a word plainly signifying some tribe of the Gael, as in the latter syllable we recognise the word *Gaedil* or *Gael*, which at all events shows that the population of that portion was not Norse.

The oldest Gaelic clan which we find in possession of this part of the ancient district of Caithness is the clan Morgan or Mackay.

Clan Morgan.

There are few clans whose true origin is more uncertain than that of the Mackays. By some they have been said to have descended from the family of Forbes in Aberdeenshire; by others, from that of Mackay of Ugadale in Kintyre, and that they were planted in the North by King William the Lion, when he defeated Harold, earl of Orkney and Caithness, and took possession of these districts. But when we take into consideration the very great power and extent to which this clan had attained in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it is difficult to conceive that they could have been a mere offset from families in the South of comparatively small extent, or to give credence to stories in themselves improbable, and which have nothing further to support them than similarity of name in the one case, and of armorial bearings in the other. It happens, unfortunately for the solution of this question, that the clan Mackay is not contained in the manuscript of 1450; and in the absence of direct testimony of any sort, the most probable supposition seems to be that they were descended from the ancient Gaelic inhabitants of the district of Caithness. If this conclusion be a just one, however, we can trace the early generations of the clan in the Sagas, for we are informed by them that towards the beginning of the twelfth century "there lived in the Dölum of Katanesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man," and that his sons were Magnus Orfi, and Ottar, the earl in Thurso.

The absence of all mention of Moddan's father, the infallible mark of a Norwegian in the Sagas, sufficiently points out that he must have been a native; but this appears still more strongly from his son being called an earl. No Norwegian under the earl of Orkney could have borne such a title, but they indiscriminately termed all the Scottish Maormors and great chiefs earls, and consequently Moddan and his son Ottar must have been the Gaelic Maormors of Caithness, and consequently the Mackays, if a part of the ancient inhabitants of Caithness, were probably descended from them.

A very minute and circumstantial history of the first generations is narrated in the ponderous volume of Sir Robert Gordon ; he deduces them from the Forbeses, but states that the first who obtained possessions in Strathnaver was named Martin, and adds "that he wes slain at Keanloch-Eylk in Lochaber, and had a son called Magnus. Magnus died in Strathnaver, leaveing two sones, Morgan and Farquhar. From this Morgan the whole familie of Macky is generally called clan-wic-Worgan in Irish or old Scottish, which language is most as yet vsed in that countrey. From Farquhar the clan-wic-Farquhar in Strathnaver ar descended."

The striking coincidence between Martin and his son Magnus, of Sir Robert Gordon, and Moddan and his son Magnus of the Sagas, strongly confirms the supposition that the Mackays are descended from these old Maormors of Caithness. The first chief of this clan who appears on record is Angus Dow, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to him the latter chiefs can all be traced. At this time the clan had extensive possessions in Sutherland and Caithness, and seem to have been of no ordinary power and consideration among the Highland clans. Their territories included the greater part of Strathnaver, and a considerable portion of the district of Sutherland proper, and these were confirmed by Donald, lord of the Isles, after he had married the countess of Ross, "*Angusis eyg de Strathnaver et Nigello filio suo seniori inter ipsum et Elezabetham de insulis sororem nostram procreato,*" on the 8th of October, 1415. Among the chiefs arrested by King James I. at the parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Angus Dow is mentioned and designated as the leader of no less than four thousand men, a fact which places the Mackays among the most powerful of the Highland clans, and shews that they must have occupied their territories for a very long period of time. Angus Dow was chiefly remarkable for the resistance which he made to Donald of the Isles, when that ambitious leader made his well known attempt to obtain possession of the earldom of Ross, and it is this event which has principally preserved the name of Angus Dow Mackay from oblivion. Donald of the Isles had claimed the earldom of Ross in right of his wife, but had been refused possession

of it by the Duke of Albany, then governor of Scotland, "whereat," says Sir Robert Gordon, "Donald of the Isles took such indignation and displeasure, that raising all the power of the Isles, he came into Rosse and spoiled the country, which Angus Dow Mackay of Farr endeavoured to defend, because that Donald had molested some friends which he had in that province. He met the lord of the Isles at Dingwall, where he fought a cruel skirmish against him. In end, Donald overthrew Angus Dow, took him prisoner, and killed his brother Rory Gald Mackay, with divers others." In another part of his work, alluding to the same conflict, Sir Robert Gordon says, "Donald of the Isles having detain'd Angus Dow a while in captivity released him and gave him his daughter in marriage, whom Angus Dow carried home with him into Strathnaver, and had a son by her called 'Neill Wasse,' so named because he was imprisoned in the Basse." Shortly after this Angus Dow appears to have brought the attention of the energetic James upon him, in consequence of an incursion which he had made into Caithness. The inhabitants of Caithness had resisted his inroad, and a battle had been fought at Helmsdale between the parties, "when ther wes much slaughter on either syde." In consequence of this Angus was included in the summons to attend the parliament at Inverness in 1427, and feeling that it would not have been prudent to disobey that order, he was arrested with the other Highland chiefs, on which occasion Fordun has transmitted his name to us in the following passage, "*Ibi arrestavit Angus Duff, alias Macqye, cum quatuor filiis suis ducem quatuor millium de Strathnaveri.*" Angus obtained his liberty from the king, but his son was detained as a hostage, and committed to the prison of the Bass for security.

After this period, the history of the Mackays consists almost entirely of constant incursions into Caithness, together with the usual feuds in which the Highland clans were at all times engaged, and they do not appear to have maintained the power and influence which they possessed under Angus Dow, but with diminished territories to have assumed a somewhat lower station in the scale of the Highland clans. The first crown charter obtained by the Mackays of their extensive

possessions in Strathnaver appears to have been as late as the year 1499. This charter was obtained in consequence of Y. Mackay, at that time chief of the clan, having apprehended Alexander Sutherland of Dalred, his own nephew, who had incurred the vengeance of government in consequence of the murder of Alexander Dunbar, brother of Sir James Dunbar, of Cumnock, and delivered him over to the king with ten of his accomplices. The power of the government had now so far penetrated into the Highlands that the Highland chiefs began to feel the necessity of possessing some sort of feudal title to their lands, while the government, aware of the advantage to its influence which the want of such a title occasioned, were not always willing to grant it; in consequence of this, the Highland chiefs now began to take advantage of any service which they might have rendered to the government, to demand, as their reward, a feudal investiture of their estates; and to this was probably owing the charter which Y. Mackay now obtained, and which his descendants took especial care that when once procured, it should be frequently renewed.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to follow this clan through all the domestic broils and feuds with the neighbouring clans, of which their history is entirely composed, and in which in no respect differed from that of the other Highland clans. It may be sufficient to mention that considerable military genius, some talent, and more good fortune, contributed to raise the chief of the clan to the dignity of the peerage in the person of Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, and thus to confer upon the clan a fictitious station among the other clans, which their power had not previously enabled them to attain. Donald Mackay had raised a regiment of fifteen hundred men of his clan, which he carried over to Germany to the assistance of the king of Bohemia; and after having taken a distinguished part in all the foreign service of the time, he returned to England, at the commencement of the civil war in the reign of Charles I., with some reputation, acquired during the Continental wars, and having been of considerable service to that unfortunate monarch, he was by him raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Reay.

His successors in the peerage maintained the station to which they had been thus raised, but, being as willing to remain

in the peerage as their ancestor had been to be raised to it, *Lord Reay* found it as much his interest to oppose the family of Stewart, as *Donald Mackay* had to support that family in their difficulties with all his interest, and accordingly throughout the insurrections in favour of that royal house in the years 1715 and 1745, the existing government found in Lord Reay a staunch and active supporter; while the Stewarts found that in rewarding the loyalty of the chief of the Mackays with a peerage, they had but changed a steady friend to a bitter enemy, and that Charles Edward was to find one of his most powerful opponents in the great-grandson of the person who had been most indebted to his grandfather.

The lineal descendant of this ancient line of Highland chiefs still remains in possession of the peerage, but having sold the estates which had been the property of the family for so many generations, the clan are left in reality without a chief of their race.

Arms.

Azure, on a chevron, or, between three bears' heads couped, argent, and muzzled, gules. A roebuck's head erased, of the last, between two hands holding daggers, all proper.

Badge.

Bulrush.

Principal Seat.

Strathnaver.

Oldest Cadet.

Mackay of Auchness.

Chief.

Erick Mackay, Lord Reay.

Force.

In 1427, 4000. In 1745, 800.

VI.—NESS.

Among the Rikis or districts in Scotland mentioned in the Sagas, and which are exactly synonymous with Maormorships, as they may be called, or the earldoms of Scottish writers, the name of Ness occurs frequently. This designation has generally been supposed to be nothing more than a variation of the word *Kateness*, and has accordingly been so translated in most of the

Latin translations of the Sagas ; but a strict comparison of the different passages in which it occurs will show clearly that Ness and Caithness must be held to have been names applied by the Norwegians to different districts. Thus, in describing the civil war which took place in the Orkneys about the year 1040 between Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, and Rognvald, his nephew who claimed a part of the Islands of Orkney, in right of his father, the Orkneying Saga says that "Rognvald sent messengers to *Nes* and the Sudereyom to say that he had taken possession of the kingdom which was Thorfinn's ; and that none in these districts opposed him, but that Thorfinn was in the meantime in *Katenesi* with his friends," thus showing distinctly that *Nes* and *Katenes* could not have been applied to the same district, but that there must have been a marked difference between them. This is confirmed in another passage of the same Saga, in which it is mentioned that Swen having gone to *Nes* to plunder, was detained there by stormy weather, and sent a messenger to that effect to Iarl Erland, at that time in *Katenes*, and the same passage shows that *Nes* must have been a district of considerable size, as it mentions Swen having overrun the country and carried off an immense booty ; and also that at this period, namely, towards the beginning of the twelfth century, *Nes* belonged to the native inhabitants, otherwise it would not have been made the object of a plundering expedition ; a circumstance which was not the case with regard to Caithness. It appears, in fact, distinctly from the Sagas, that Ness was situated somewhere on the Northern shore of Scotland, and that it included the north-western angle of the country ; for the Earls of Orkney are frequently mentioned as crossing the Pentland Firth into *Nes*, and on one occasion Swen is stated, in the Orkneying Saga, to have gone from Lewes into Scotland to meet the king of Scotland, and as having passed through Ness on his way.

The district of Strathnaver, as we have seen, formed part of the Riki of *Katenes*, and was known to the Norwegians by the name of "*Dölum a Katenesi*." The only districts therefore which at all answered to the description of Ness are those of Assint Edderachylis and Diurnes ; these districts are not included in any of the other earldoms comprehended in the

north-western corner of Scotland. And in the latter the appellation Ness appears to have been preserved. There seems therefore little reason to doubt that there was an ancient maormorship or earldom, comprehending these districts of Assint Edderachylis and Diurnes, and that that earldom was known to the Norwegians under the designation of the Riki of Ness.

The most ancient Gaelic clan which can be traced as inhabiting these districts, is the clan Nicaïl or Macnicols.

Clan Nicaïl.

“Tradition, and even documents declare,” says the Reverend Mr. William Mackenzie, in his statistical account of the parish of Assint, “that it was a forest of the ancient Thanes of Sutherland.” “One of these Prince Thanes gave it in vassalage to one *Mackrycul*, who in ancient times held the coast of Coygach, that part of it at the place presently called Ullapool. The noble Thane made Assint over in the above manner, as Mackrycul had recovered a great quantity of cattle carried off from the county of Sutherland by foreign invaders. Mackrycul’s family, by the fate of war in those days of old, being reduced to one heir female, she was given in marriage to a younger son of Macleod, laird of Lewis, the thane of Sutherland consenting thereto; and also making Assint over to the new-married couple, together with its superiority. The result of this marriage was fourteen successive lairds here of the name of Macleod.” The same gentleman also adds, in a note, “Mackry-cul is reported by the people here to be the potent man of whom are descended the Macnicols, Nicols, and Nicolsons.” With the exception of the part performed by the Thane of Sutherland, which is disproved by the fact, that the charter to Torquil Macleod, who married the heiress of Mackrycul, of the lands of Assint was a crown charter, and does not narrate any grant whatever; this account is substantially confirmed by the manuscript of 1450, in which MS. the descent of the clan Nicaïl is traced in a direct line from a certain *Gregall*, plainly the *Krycul* of the reverend minister of Assint.

From a calculation of generations it appears that Gregall must have flourished in the twelfth century, and as we have seen

that this district was certainly at that time occupied by a Gaelic tribe, it follows that the Macnicols must be of Gaelic origin. But the clan Nicol are not connected by the manuscript of 1450 with any of the four great tribes into which the clans contained in that manuscript are divided, and which tribes have been shewn to be synonymous with the ancient districts of Moray, Ros, Garmoran, and the tribe of the Gallgael. It seems therefore clear, that we must look upon the Macnicols as the descendants of the ancient Gaelic tribe who formed the earliest inhabitants of the district of Ness. This clan is now nearly extinct, and of its history, when in possession of these districts, we know nothing. But these ancient possessions certainly comprehended Edderachylis and Duirnes as well as Assint and Coygach, as we find these districts in the possession of the Macleods of Lewis, who acquired their mainland territories by marriage with the only daughter of the last Macnicol. The district of Assint remained in the possession of Macleod for many generations until about the year 1660, when it became the property of the earl of Seaforth, by the usual mode in which the powerful barons obtained possession of the properties of the chiefs in their neighbourhood, whom circumstances had reduced into their power, viz., by the fatal operation of the old system of wadset and apprising. By purchase it afterwards fell into the hands of the Sutherland family, in whose possession it has ever since remained. The northern portion of this district continued for some time to be held by the Macleods, until a feud between Macleod of Edderachylis and the Morisons of Duirnes gave the Mackays, who were then at the height of their power, an opportunity of wresting these estates from both families, and accordingly these districts have ever since formed a part of the Mackays' possessions, or what is called Lord Reay's country.

VII.—SUDRLAND.

The ancient district of Sutherland or Sudrland, so termed by the Norwegians, in consequence of its position in respect to Caithness, which for a long time was their only possession on the mainland of Scotland, was of much less extent than the present country of the same name; for the districts of Strathnaver,

Edderachylis, Duirnes, and Assint, which are included in the same county at present, formed no part of the ancient earldom, but belonged the first to Caithness, while the others constituted, as we have seen, the ancient district of Ness. This district, therefore, included merely the eastern portion of the county, and although it is unquestionably of a mountainous and Highland character, yet it did not, like the other Highland districts, retain its Gaelic population in spite of the Norwegian conquest, but became entirely colonized by the Norse, who thus effected a permanent change in its population. This result, however, arose from circumstances altogether peculiar to the district of Sutherland, and which, in no respect, apply to the case of other Highland regions.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that the principal cause of the extensive conquest of Thorfinn, the Norwegian Iarl of Orkney, on the mainland of Scotland, in the year 1034, was from the king of Scotland having bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon Moddan, his sister's son, with commands to wrest these districts from the Norwegian Iarl, to whom they had been ceded by the preceding monarch. But there is considerable reason to think, from the expressions of the Norse writers, and from the events which followed, that Moddan must have been the Gaelic chief or Maormor of Sutherland; for independently of the improbability of this district having been bestowed on any other Gaelic chief than its own proper Maormor, when the only object of the king was to wrest it from the hands of the Norwegians, the Saga expressly mentions that Moddan went north to take possessions of these two districts, and levied his army for that purpose in Sutherland,—a fact which, in these times, is sufficient to prove Moddan to have been the Maormor of Sudrland. The natural consequence of the complete success of Thorfinn, and of the total overthrow of his opponents must have been, in accordance with the manners of the times, that his vengeance would be peculiarly directed against the Gaelic chiefs, to whose race Moddan belonged, and against the Gaelic population who had principally supported him in his war with Thorfinn. We may hence conclude with certainty, that on the establishment of the Norwegian kingdom of Thorfinn, the Gaelic inhabitants of Sudrland would be altogether

driven out or destroyed, and that during the extended duration of the Norwegian occupancy, its population would become purely and permanently Norse.

There are consequently no Highland clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly, as we have seen, of the clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of course accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations.

CONCLUSION.

HAVING now concluded the history of the Highland clans according to the system established in the former part of the Work, it may be proper here to state in a few words the simple but highly important conclusion to which these researches have brought us.

First. The Gaelic race at present occupying the Highlands have existed as a distinct and peculiar people, inhabiting the same districts which they now occupy, from the earliest period to which the records of history reach.

Secondly. Previous to the thirteenth century, that Gaelic nation was divided into a few great tribes, which exactly correspond with the ancient earldoms of that part of Scotland. The hereditary chiefs of these tribes were termed Maormors a title which the influence of Saxon manners changed to that of earl.

Thirdly. From these few tribes all the Highlanders are descended, and to one or other of them each of the Highland clans can be traced.

Upon this system, therefore, has every part of the present Work been brought to bear. Each of the clans has been viewed rather as forming a part of one great whole than as a separate family detached from all others, and it has throughout been deemed of more importance to establish with precision the place of each clan in this great system, than to enter into any detail of their history. Of the importance of the result to which all these researches have led, it is impossible for a moment to doubt; and while a view has been given of the history of each detached portion, everything has been brought to contribute, in some degree, to the establishment of a great truth as new as it is important.

This second portion would have extended to far greater length, and more minute detail of family history, had the Author not felt the necessity of compressing his plan within the narrow limits of an essay, which he was desirous should exhibit, in a distinct and complete form, the theory of Scottish history, which his researches have led him to adopt, and which he now submits with deference to the judgment of the public.

The result of the system will be found, at one view, in the following table of the descent of the Highland clans.

TABLE OF THE DESCENT OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

	Name of the Tribe according to Ptolemy.	Name of the Macmorship or Earldom.	Name of the Great Clans.	Name of the Small Clans.	Name of the Chief.
Dicaldones Cruthne or Northern Picts	Kaledonioti ...	The Gallgael	{ Sìol Cuinn ... Sìol Gillebray Sìol Eachern ... Clan Donnachie Clan Pharlane Clan Chattan Clan Cameron Clan Nachtan Clan Gilleon ... Sìol O'Cain ... Clan Anrias ... Clan Kenneth Clan Mathan ... Sìol Alpine ... Clan Leod Clan Campbell Clan Morgan ... Clan Nical ...	{ Clan Rory Clan Donald Clan Dugall Clan Neill Clan Lechlan ... Clan Ewen ... Clan Dugall Craignish Clan Lamond Clan Roich Clan Gillemhaol Clan Gregor Clan Grant Clan Fingon Clan Anaba Clan Duffie Clan Quarrie Clan Aulay ...<	

APPENDIX TO PART II.

AS the simple conclusion to which we have arrived, after the investigation contained in this Work, both as to the origin of the Highlanders generally and of the Highland clans in particular, is, that the whole Highland clans are, with very few exceptions, descended from one Gaelic nation, who have inhabited the same country from time immemorial,—it follows that the plan of this Work must exclude all those families to whom a long residence in the country have given the name of Highlanders, but who are not of Gaelic origin. But as these families are not very numerous, it will be proper, in order to complete this sketch of the Highlanders, that we should shortly state, in an Appendix, the reasons for considering them of foreign origin. There are, perhaps, few countries into which the introduction of strangers is received with less favour than the Highlands of Scotland. So strongly were the Highlanders themselves imbued with an hereditary repugnance to the settlement of foreigners among them, that assisted as that prejudice was by the almost impenetrable nature of their country, such an occurrence must originally have been nearly impossible, and at all times exceedingly difficult. In this respect, however, the extinction of the ancient earls or maormors produced some change. Norman and Saxon barons, by the operation of the principles of feudal succession, acquired a nominal possession of many of the great Highland districts, and were prepared to seize every favourable opportunity to convert that nominal possession to an actual occupation of the country; and although their influence was not great enough to enable them materially to affect the population of the interior of their respective districts, yet, under their protection, many of the foreign families might obtain a footing in

those parts which more immediately bordered on the Lowlands. It is accordingly the eastern and southern boundary of the Highlands which would naturally become exposed to the encroachment of the Lowlanders and their barons, and in which we might expect to find clans which are not of pure Gaelic origin. The first of these clans is that of the

Stewarts.

In the present state of our information regarding the Stewarts, the question of their origin seems to have been at length set at rest, and until the discovery of new documents shall unsettle this decision, there seems no reason to doubt that they are a branch of the Norman family of Fitzallan. The proofs which have been brought forward in support of this conclusion are too demonstrative to be overcome by the authority of tradition alone, however ancient that tradition may be, and until some important additional information be discovered, we must look upon the fabled descent of the Stewarts from the thanes of Lochaber, and consequently their native origin, as altogether visionary.

The whole of the Scottish Stewarts can be traced to Renfrewshire as their first seat, but still, in consequence of the great extent of territory acquired by this family all over Scotland, a considerable number of them penetrated into the Highlands, and the amount of the Highland families of the name became in time considerable. Those families of the name who are found established in the Highlands in later times are derived from three sources, the Stewarts of Lorn, Atholl, and Balquidder.

The Stewarts of Lorn are descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last lord of Lorn, who, by the assistance of the Maclarins, a clan to whom his mother belonged, retained forcible possession of a part of his father's estates; and of this family are the Stewarts of Appen, Invernahyle, Fasnacloich, &c. Besides the descendants of the natural son of the last lord of Lorn, the family of the Stewart of Grandtully in Atholl is also descended from this family, deriving their origin from Alexander Stewart, fourth son of John, lord of Lorn.

The Stewarts of Atholl consist almost entirely of the descendants of the natural children of Alexander Stewart,

commonly called the "Wolf of Badenoch;" of these the principal family was that of Stewart of Garth, descended from James Stewart, one of the Wolfe of Badenoch's natural sons, who obtained a footing in Atholl by marrying the daughter and heiress of Menzies of Fothergill, or Fortingall, and from this family almost all the other Atholl Stewarts proceed.

The Balquidder Stewarts are entirely composed of the illegitimate branches of the Albany family. The principal families were those of Ardvorlich, Glenbuckly, and others.

Menzies.

The original name of this family was Meyners, and they appear to be of Lowland origin. Their arms and the resemblance of name distinctly point them out to be a branch of the English family of Manners, and consequently their Norman origin is undoubted. They appear, however, to have obtained a footing in Atholl at a very early period, although it is not now possible to ascertain by what means the acquisition was obtained. Robert de Meyners grants a charter of the lands of Culdares in Fortingall to Matthew de Moncrief as early as the reign of Alexander II. His son Alexander de Meyners was certainly in possession of the lands of Weem, Aberfeldie, and Glendochart, in Atholl, besides his original possessions of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale. He was succeeded in the estates of Weem, Aberfeldie and Durisdeer, by his eldest son Robert, while his younger son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fothergill.

From the eldest son the present family of Menzies of Menzies is descended; but the family of Menzies of Fothergill became extinct in the third generation, and the property was transferred to the family of Stewart in consequence of the marriage of James Stewart, natural son of the Wolfe of Badenoch, with the heiress.

Fraser. -

Of the Norman origin of the family of the Frasers it is impossible for a moment to entertain any doubt. They appear during the first few generations uniformly in that quarter of Scotland which is south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde; and they possessed at a very early period extensive estates in the counties of East Lothian and of Tweeddale; besides this, the

name of Frisale, which is its ancient form, appears in the roll of Battle Abbey, thus placing the Norman character of their origin beyond a doubt.

Down to the reign of Robert the Bruce the Frasers appear to have remained in the southern counties, but during his reign they began to spread northward, penetrating into Mearns and Aberdeenshire, and finally into Inverness-shire. Sir Andrew Fraser appears to have acquired extensive territories in the North by marriage with the heiress of a family of considerable consequence in Caithness; but he still possessed property in the South, as he appears under the title of Dominus de Touch, in the county of Stirling. Simon Fraser was the first of the family of Lovat. By marriage with Margaret, daughter of John, earl of Orkney and Caithness, he obtained a footing in the North. On the death of Magnus, the last earl of this line, he unsuccessfully contested the succession with the earl of Strathearne, but at the same time he acquired the property of Lovat, which descended to his wife through her mother, the daughter and heiress of Graham of Lovat. His son Hugh is the first of this family who appears on record in possession of Lovat and the Aird. On the 11th September, 1367, Hugh Fraser, "Dominus de Loveth et portionarius terrarum de Aird," does homage to the bishop of Moray for his part of the half daviach land of Kintallergy and Esser and fishings of Form. After this he occurs frequently under the title of "Dominus de Loveth," and this Hugh Fraser, Dominus de Loveth, is the undisputed ancestor of the modern Frasers of Lovat, while of their connections with the Southern Frasers, and also of their consequent Norman origin, there can be no doubt whatever.

Chisholm.

Few families have asserted their right to be considered as a Gaelic clan with greater vehemence than the Chisholms, notwithstanding that there are perhaps few whose Lowland origin is less doubtful. Hitherto no one has investigated their history; but their early charters suffice to establish the real origin of the family with great clearness. The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired

these lands is proved by the fact that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and "*Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir*" on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403.

In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as comportioner of the barony of Ard along with lord Fenton.

The name of Chisholm does not occur in Battle Abbey Roll, so there is no distinct authority to prove that the family was actually of Norman origin, but these documents above cited distinctly shew that the name was introduced into the Highlands from the low country. Their original seat was in all probability in Roxburgshire, as we find the only person of the name who signs Ragman's Roll is "Richard de Chesehelm del county de Roxburg," and in this county the family of Chisholm still remains. Their situation, therefore, together with the character of the name itself, seems with sufficient clearness to indicate a Norman origin.

The four families whose origin we have here investigated, although cursorily, complete the number of clans whose foreign origin can be established with any degree of certainty; and whether we consider the small number of these families, or their situation on the borders of the Highlands, we cannot but be struck with the small impression which the predominating influence of the Saxons and Normans in the Highlands, and the continued encroachments of the Lowland barons, both of such lengthened endurance, produced upon the population of the aboriginal Gael. This is a fact which can only be accounted for by the rooted and unalterable hatred which the Gael have always exhibited to the introduction among them or settlement of strangers, and which perhaps more than any other cause led to those interminable feuds by which the Highlands of Scotland were so long and grievously distracted.

EXCURSUS AND NOTES.

BY THE EDITOR.

EXCURSUS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF CELTIC SCOTLAND.

THE ethnology of the British Isles is still, despite the intelligent researches of the last fifty years, in an unsettled state. This is greatly due to the fact that the subject draws its materials from various subordinate or kindred sciences, and no one man has yet appeared who has been able to grasp with equal power the reins of all these sciences. The archæologist deals with the monuments and other physical remains of man's past, helped by the anatomist in deciding upon "skins and skulls," a subject also dealt with by the anthropologist, whose sphere of science is man—his race, physique, and beliefs. The historian depends on his written or printed documents; while the latest to lend his aid, as a real, not an empirical, scientist, is the philologist. Much was done in former times in using language to decide racial points; but it is since Grimm and Zeuss some sixty years ago put philology on scientific lines that any good has accrued from this subject. It is still a science known thoroughly, especially for purposes of ethnology, only by a few.

Without going back to the cave-men, and others of paleolithic times, when Britain and its isles formed a continuous part of Europe, we come to neolithic times, when unmistakably we have man of the New Stone Age. These neolithic men were comparatively small of stature, long-headed, and dark-haired. They buried in long barrows. The Bronze Age begins with the intrusion of a race tall in stature, broad-headed, and fair-haired, with beetling brows—a splendid race physically and mentally. They buried in round barrows. Some—indeed,

most—ethnologists regard these men as the first wave of the Celts; some say of Gadelic, or perhaps Gadelic and Pictish. They are allied by physique to several past and present races on the Continent—the modern Walloons, for instance, and the *Helvetii*. The view maintained by the Editor is that the Gaders or ancient Gaels and the Picts both belonged to the great Aryan Race, and originally possessed the tall stature, blond hair, and long heads which are postulated for the pure Aryan. The Aryan Race, or rather the Aryan-speaking Race, is a discovery of modern or scientific philology. It was discovered some sixty years ago that the languages of the various nations—barring a very few—dwelling from Ireland to Ceylon spoke languages that ultimately came from one original tongue. In short, the chief Indian languages, Persian, Slavonic, Lettish, Teutonic, Greek, Latin, and Celtic, are descended from one mother-tongue. For a long time it has been a matter of dispute where this original language had its *habitat*. It is now agreed that southern Russia and ancient Poland formed the home of the Aryan tongue. The dispersion of the Aryan-speaking people began some four thousand years ago. The Celts lay on the upper reaches of the Danube until the dawn of history begins; the Latins and they were nearest of kin to any of the other leading branches. The Celts spread over Germany to the shores of the North Sea, and then, about 600 B.C., or indeed earlier, they entered Gaul and pushed their conquests into Spain, and later into northern Italy. They were at the height of their power in the fourth century, spreading from the west of Ireland to the mouth of the Danube, and in 279 they overran Asia Minor, settling down to the limits of Galatia about 250 B.C. Such an “empire” might satisfy Rome itself. But it had no centre, and soon crumbled after two hundred years’ domination.

The Celts all unite on one philologic peculiarity: even the Aryan initial *p* has been lost. In the course of their dispersion over Europe they divided into two dialects over the Aryan sound *qv* (as in Lat. *quod*, Eng. *quantity*). The one dialect made it *k* or *q* purely, the other made it *p*; and we speak of P and Q Celts for brevity’s sake. The Belgic Gauls, the Britons, and Welsh, and the Picts, were P Celts; the Gaders or Gae-

of all ages were Q Celts. Most of Gaul spoke the P variety of Celtic. The Celts, of course, pushed westward into Britain. It is usually thought that the Gadels came first. The common notion naturally is that they swarmed into England about 600 B.C., and were thence driven westward into Ireland by the advancing Belgic tribes. Undoubtedly Gadels were in Wales and Devonshire in the fifth century A.D., settled as inhabitants. These, however, are accounted for as the invaders of the Roman Province of Britain during the invasions of the Scots and Picts from 360 to 500. Indeed, in 366, and for a few years, the Province of Britain was ruled, or misruled, by Crimthann, High-King of Ireland. Theodosius arrived in 369, and drove out the invaders. As early as 200, settlements were made by expelled Gaels in South Wales. Besides this, Gaelic inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries in Ogam are found in South Wales, and one or two in old Cornavia. Professor Rhys is the great protagonist for the view that the Gadelic tongue was continuous in Wales from the time of the first Gadels till the seventh century. On the other side, Professor Kuno Meyer asserts that "no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland," a dictum with which the present writer agrees.

The tradition among the Gaels of Ireland themselves is that they came from Spain to Ireland. It is more likely that, starting from Gaul, they skimmed along the southern shore of England—perhaps the Picts were then in possession of the country—and thus arrived in Ireland. Their own traditions and there being no other trace of them in Britain before the Christian era prove this contention. As already said, the date of their arrival must be about 600 or 500 B.C.

About the same time the Picts came across, possibly from what was afterwards the land of the Saxon invaders of England, and may have colonised Scotland first, bringing there the red-haired, large-limbed Caledonians of Tacitus. In any case, the Picts must have been the predominant race in Britain in the fourth century B.C., when the Greek voyager, Pytheas, made his rounds of the northern seas. He calls the people of Britain Pretanoi or Prettanoi; this might be a Celtic Qretani, present Gaelic Cruithne, possibly from *cruth*, figure, so called because

they tattooed themselves, whence Lat. *Picti*, painted men. The fact that Pictavia was also the name of a large Gaulish province makes this last statement doubtful. It may, however, be inferred that this Greek form Prettania gave rise to the name Britain—a bad Latin pronunciation of Prettania. Prof. Rhys here objects, and points out that Pliny mentions a tribe of Britanni as situated at the mouth of the Somme, not very far from Kent; that there was such a tribe is proved by the modern town-name of Bretagne. If Prof. Rhys is right, he must postulate that part of Kent was inhabited by these Britanni, and that from this little colony came the name of the whole island. No Britanni are mentioned as in Britain, and it is likely that the tribe on the Somme were some returned emigrants from Britain. The Welsh call the Picts *Prydyn* (from *pryd*, figure), which again agrees with Gaelic derivation (Gaelic *cruth*, whence Cruithne, is, in Welsh, *pryd*). Britain is Welsh Prydain, the same word as that for Pict. Hence the Picts are the “figured” men both in the Gadelic and Brittonic languages. These are the Editor’s views, and the proof must be deferred till we come to treat the Pictish question.

We are on firm historic ground in regard to the last Belgic invasion of Celts from the Continent. The Belgic Gauls crossed over into Britain before Cæsar’s time, for he found them in possession of at least the eastern portion of England; the language was the same on both sides of the Channel, some tribe names, such as the Atrebates, were common to both, and King Divitiacus ruled both in Gaul and Britain. Cæsar speaks of the Britons of the interior as aboriginal, no doubt referring to the west coast and to Scotland. In any case, the Belgæ seem at the time of the Roman conquest to have possessed Britain as far as the Forth—at least its eastern half, being probably in much the same position as we find the Anglo-Saxons about 613. The Picts had been conquered or driven west and north; we know they inhabited all northern Scotland then, and possibly what was afterwards the Kingdom of Strathclyde. Tacitus mentions the Silures in South Wales as a dark curly-haired people, and argues their Spanish origin. These Silures are now recognised as the survivors of the Iberians of the Neolithic age.

In Scotland, therefore, at the beginning of the Christian era, the racial position would be thus: Belgic Gauls in the eastern portion of the country from the Firth of Forth to the Tweed; parallel to them in the western half, from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway, were the Picts, still retreating. The rest of the Picts filled the remaining portion of Scotland from the Firths to Cape Wrath and the Orkney Isles. The previous Iberian population, with its admixture of Bronze-age men, were absorbed by the Celts or driven westwards, where, among the Isles and on the West Coast, plenty traces of them are still in evidence. The Roman occupation of the district between the Walls, that is from the Tyne and Solway to the Clyde and Forth Wall, no doubt added a new ethnologic factor to the population there; and the Brittonic or Belgic Gauls undoubtedly came to possess Strathclyde and Dumbarton (the "dune" of the Britons). In the sixth century the Anglo-Saxons entered Scotland. The Celts called them Saxons because that tribe formed the first Teutonic raiders and invaders of Britain, the Gadelic tribes receiving the name from the Brittonic peoples. It was, however, the Angles that conquered the eastern half of Scotland to the Firth of Forth.

Meanwhile the Scots, who had helped the Picts to harass the Roman province for a hundred years, had acquired settlements on the Argyleshire coast and in the Isles. The Scots were simply the inhabitants of Ireland; it was their own name for themselves. Isidore of Saville (600 A.D.) says the name in the Scottic language meant "tattooed," and, as a matter of fact, the root word is still alive in the language—Gaelic *sgath*, lop off; old Irish *scothaim*, allied to English *scathe*. This makes both Gadels and Picts mean "men of the tattoo." Dr. Whitley Stokes prefers the root *skot*, property; German *schatz*, stock; and translates the word as "owners, masters." The first invasion of Scotland by the Scots is set down by the Irish annalists as in the latter half of the second century (circ. 160 A.D.) under Cairbre Riata, whom Bede calls Reuda (Gadelic *Reiddavos "Ready-man?") Riata gave his name to the Irish and Scotch Dál-Riadas both—"the Tribal portion of Riata." Possibly additions took place during the Picts and Scots alliance of 360 to (say) 460, but in any case a great

accession to the Scots on the West Coast was the arrival, 501, of the sons of Erc from Dalriada; they founded the lit kingdom of Dalriada, practically Argyleshire and its Isle, though the original Argyle extended from the Mull of Kintyre to Lochbroom, as our earliest documents show. It means "Coastland of the Gael"—*Airer-Gaidheal*. When the Normans came about 800, they called the Minch Scotland Fjord, which shows that the Gael practically held the West Coast entire, as the Picts held the East Coast to Pettland Fjord, or Pictland Fjord, now Pentland. The name Scot and Scotland came to be applied to the Scottish kingdom in the tenth century by English writers—the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls Constantine, who fought unsuccessfully at Brunanburg, in 937, King of Scotland. The Irish, who were called by that time Hibernienses, or Hiberni, by outsiders, dropped the name Scot and called themselves Goedél, or, later, Gaidheal, "Gael." This is the name that the Highlanders still call themselves by—*Gàidheal*. Unfortunately, the oldest Irish form dates on from 1100—*Góedel*, which would give a Gadelic form, **Gaidel*, but Scottish Gaelic points to **Gádilos* or *Gáidelos*, and from various considerations seems the correcter form, giving a root *gād*, Eng. *good*, Gothic *gādiliggs*, relative; German *gatte*, husband. The idea is "kinsman," as in the case of the native name for Welshman—*Cymro*, whence Cymric, **Com-brox*, "co-burger," where *brox* or *broges* (plural) is from the root *mrog*, land; Lat. *margo*, Eng. *mark*, *march*.

The next invasion of Scotland, which gave her a most important accession of population in the Isles, the West Coast and in Sutherland and Caithness, was made by the Normans about 795. Our historians seem little to understand either its extent in time and place or the great change it wrought in the ethnological character of the districts held by the Normans. Of this we shall speak at its proper place in notes on Chapter IV. The Norman invasion extended even to Scotland, and Celtic earls and barons, either through failure of heirs male or otherwise, soon and in great numbers were succeeded by Normans and Angles.

It will thus be seen that the Scottish people are ethnologically very much mixed. The Caledonians, as Dr. Bedd

points out, still show German, or rather Walloon, characteristics. Norse features are predominant in Lewis and the northern Isles generally, though Iberian and other (such as Spanish) elements are strong. The East Coast is largely Teutonic. The old burghs were planted by the Canmore dynasty in the northern districts to keep the ordinary population in order, and towns like Inverness were from the first in the hands of Flemish and other Teutonic traders.

THE PICTISH PROBLEM.

Till criticism began with Father Innes's Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland in 1729, the Scottish historians taught that the Picts and Scots were two separate nations living side by side, each speaking a language of its own. These historians gave their attention nearly altogether to the story and genealogy of the Scots, representing Kenneth Mac Alpin in 843 as overthrowing and even extirpating the Picts, insomuch that their language and their name were lost. Father Innes's Essay, among other things, holds that though Kenneth Mac Alpin, the Scot, had to fight for his Pictish throne, yet he was rightful heir, but he proves that there was no extirpation of the Picts. Their language, as a dialect of Celtic, like British (Welsh) and Gaelic, naturally gave way to the Court and Church language of Kenneth and his dynasty, which was Gaelic—such is his easy-going method of getting rid of a national language. Later on Pinkerton, who had an anti-Celtic craze, put the Picts in the foreground of his historic picture of Scotland before 843; he regarded them as Gothic or Teutonic—ancestors of the Lowland Scots, who wiped out the Dalriadic Kingdom about 740. The king of the straggling remnant of Dalriads, one hundred years later, became, in the person of Kenneth Mac Alpin, also King of Picts. George Chalmers (1807), sanest critic of them all, regarded the Picts as Cymric or British by race and language, and of course accepted the usual story of the Scottish Chronicles. Mr. Skene, in the first edition of the present work, in 1837, adopted Pinkerton's revolutionary ideas about the Picts and the Scottish Conquest, but with the great difference that he regarded the Picts as Gaelic-speaking, using the same language as the Scots. In fact, he held that there

was no change of race or language at the so-called Scottish Conquest, which was no conquest at all, but a mere matter of succession on Kenneth's part according to Pictish law. It may be called the "Uniformitarian" theory of early Scottish history: nobody conquered anybody, and the great Pictish nation was, as before, in language and race, the main body of the Scottish Kingdom, and most certainly ancestors of the present-day Scottish Highlanders—at any rate the Northern Picts were so. The Southern Picts he allows in 1837 to be conquered by Kenneth Mac Alpin, but in *Celtic Scotland* he or admits that Britons were between the Tay and the Forth—the Britons of Fortrenn being mentioned in the Irish Chronicles and gave Kings to the Picts, as the Kings' lists compelled him to admit; but these Britons were Cornish (Damnonii of Cornwall and Dumnonii of mid-Scotland, according to Ptolemy's geography, were likely the same people in Skene's view). This very plausible theory has for the last sixty years held the field in Scottish history; indeed, the popular historians know no other. The County histories of Messrs. Blackwood, of course, hold by Skene's theories; and the two latest historians of Scotland—Dr. Hume Brown and Mr. Andrew Lang—regard the Picts as purely Gaels, and kill off the Dalriads in the time of the terrible Pictish King, Angus Mac Fergus (about 740). The obscurity of Kenneth Mac Alpin's succession is insisted upon by Mr. Lang, as might be expected, is really "funny" on the subject. Writing about Prof. Zimmer's expression that the Scots "took away the independence of the Picts," he says: "We might as easily hold that James VI. took away the independence of the English by becoming King, as that Kenneth Mac Alpin, a Pict by female descent [?], did as much for the Picts." Dr. Skene has retarded the progress of scientific research into early Scottish history for at least a generation. This sort of thing, as shown by Lang's case, will go on for many a day yet let Celtic scholars do what they like.

Modern Celtic scholars have reverted to the old position of the Chronicles. Respect for the authority of contemporaries like Bede and Cormac, and, we may add, Adamnan, compels them so to do, not to mention the authority of the Chronicles; philological facts scientifically dealt with, and considerations of customs, especial

in regard to marriage, hold the next place. The present writer thinks that the topography of Pictland is one of the most cogent factors in the solution of the problem, but, unfortunately, Celtic scholars "furth of Scotland" cannot appreciate this aspect of the question except to a limited extent. If Prof. Rhys studied the topography of Pictland instead of the so-called Pictish inscriptions, it is certain that he would not distract either Celtic scholars or outsiders like Mr. Lang with his theories as to the Pictish being a non-Aryan, pre-Celtic tongue. The ingenuity wasted on this theory and on its ethnologic consequences makes the outsider yet distrust philologic ways. And here, again, the study of Scottish ethnology is retarded, though not to the same extent as it is by Dr. Skene's theories.

We can here only summarise the arguments that go to prove that the Picts were a Celtic-speaking people, whose language differed both from Brittonic and Gadelic, but, at the same time, only differed dialectically from the Gaulish and Brittonic tongues. The language was of the P class. The arguments are these:—

I.—Contemporary writers speak of the Pictish as a separate language from both Brittonic and Gadelic.

Bede (731) twice refers to the matter:—"The nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, viz., those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English" (III. cap. 6). There may have been thus many provinces in Britain, but only four languages. In his first chapter he adds Latin as a fifth language—Britain "contains five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of divine truth." These statements, surely, are definite enough: Pictish is a language different from either Brittonic or Gadelic. This Skene acknowledges in the present volume, but confines it to the southern Picts; in *Celtic Scotland* he does like the Scottish theologian—he looks the difficulty boldly in the face and passes on!

Adamnan (died 704), writing for people who knew that Pictish was a very different tongue from Irish, did not require to mention that interpreters were needed any more than modern travel-books do, but he does incidentally mention that Columba preached the Word twice through an interpreter, once to a

peasant, and once to a chief. "On two occasions only," says Skene, does he require an interpreter, and it is at once inferred that King Brude and his court spoke to Columba without interpreters—and in Gaelic!

Cormac, King-bishop of Cashel (circ. 900), records a word of the *berla cruithnech* or Pictish language (*cartit*, pin).

The next contemporary references occur in the twelfth century, and they concern the so-called Picts of Galloway. These will best be considered under the next heading.

II.—The so-called Picts of Galloway and the Irish Cruithnig.

The Picts of Galloway are mentioned as being present at the Battle of the Standard (1138) by Richard of Hexham, a contemporary writer, who informs us that King David's army was composed *inter alios* of "Pictis, qui vulgo Gallweiensens dicuntur." The learned cleric calls them Picts; their usual name was Gallwegians. From Reginald of Durham, writing at the end of the twelfth century, we get a word belonging to these Picts, for, speaking of certain clerics of Kirkcudbright, he calls them "clerici illi qui Pictorum lingua *Scollofthes* cognominantur." Unfortunately, the word *Scollofthes* proves nothing, for like the Welsh *ysgolhaig* and old Irish *scoloe*, scholar, student—latterly, in Gaelic, servant—it is derived from Latin *scholasticus*; but the reference to the Pictish language implies its existence in Galloway at the time. Of course we can pit against these two references, another from the same Anglic source. Henry of Huntingdon, who writes before 1154, says: "The Picts seem now destroyed and their language altogether wiped out, so that what old writers say about them appears now fabulous." We have further an enumeration of the inhabitants of the Glasgow diocese in the charters of Malcolm and William the Lyon, which are addressed thus: "Francis et Anglis, Scotis et Galweiensibus et Walensibus"—Franks (Norman French), English (of the south eastern counties), Scots (Gaels possibly), Gallwegians and Welsh (remains of the old Britons of Strathclyde). Here there is no mention of Picts.

Galloway is so named from Gall-Gàidheil or "Foreign Gaels." This was the name given to the mixed Norse and Gaels who inhabited the Isles of Scotland, Man, Galloway, Kintyre, and the Western coast of Scotland. Dr. Stokes thinks that the Gaelic

portion of them had relapsed into paganism. The Gall-Gàidheil afterwards formed the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, without, however, any portion of the mainland being included; and the name Gall-Gàidheil became latterly restricted to Galloway. The early history of Galloway can only be guessed at. The Brittonic people certainly had possession of it, and Dr. Beddoe regards the tall hillmen of Galloway and upper Strathclyde as the best representatives of the Brittonic race, Wales itself being very much mixed in blood. It formed part of the Kingdom of Strathclyde, no doubt; but it must have received a Gaelic population from Ireland before its conquest by the Norse. Its place-names show traces of Brittonic, Norse, and Gaelic names; but Gaelic names are predominant. Gaelic was spoken in Galloway and Ayr till the seventeenth century; but the Gaels of Ayr, Lanark, and Renfrew were invaders from the north, who in the tenth and eleventh centuries imposed their language and rule on the British Kingdom of Strathclyde. It is clear, from the above considerations, that the Galwegians of the twelfth century were anything but Picts, and that their language was the same as the Manx. Richard of Hexham and Reginald of Durham, finding the Galwegians a race apart, called them Picts; and so Dr. Skene founds one of his strongest arguments that Pictish was Gaelic on the fact that the Gaelic-speaking Galwegians were Picts according to two bungling English ecclesiastics of the twelfth century.

The Irish Picts have always the name of Cruithnig, both in Gaelic and in Latin, whereas the Picts of Scotland are variously called Cruithnig, Picts, Piccardai, Pictones, and Pictores. In Ireland there were Picts in Dal-araidhe (Down and part of Antrim), in Meath and in Roscommon. The last two were doubtless some mercenaries introduced by some King or Kinglet returning victoriously from exile. Nothing is known of them save in a wild legend about the arrival of the Picts first in Ireland and their departure to Scotland, leaving a remnant in Meath. But the Cruithnig of Dal-araidhe figure prominently in Irish history in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Irish histories relate that they were the attendants or descendants of the Princess Loucetna, daughter of Eochaidh Echbél, King of Alba; she married Conall Cernach, the great Ulster hero of the

early part of the first century of the Christian era. But the Ulster Picts were evidently invaders from Scotland who settled on the corner of Ireland nearest to their own land. By the sixth century they were as Gaelic-speaking as the rest of the Irish. And hence Skene finds another proof that Pictish was Gaelic. He also misreads the history of Ulster, which he regards as having been all populated by the Picts. Ulster had in early Irish history two consecutive denotations: Ulster at first meant the province of Ulster as it is now. But the old kingly heroes of Ulster—the Clann Rudraid, descended of Ir, son of Miled—was gradually extruded from its lands by scions of the royal line of Ireland, until in the fifth century they had only Dal-araidhe or Ulidia or Uladh, which was still called Ulster and its kings still styled “Kings of Ulster.” They were, of course, also King of the Picts of Dal-araidhe. Hence has arisen Skene’s confusion, in which he is followed by Prof. Rhys.

III.—The Pictish Language.

Not a line of either poetry or prose has been recorded in Pictish; the so-called Pictish inscriptions are yet unravelled. Only two words are recorded by writers as Pictish. Bede records that the east end of the Roman wall, between Forth and Clyde, ended “in loco qui sermone Pictorum Pean-fahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun, appellatur.” Here *pean* is for *penn*, which is also the old Welsh for “head,” old Gaelic, *cenn*; and *fahel* is allied to Gaelic *fàl*, Welsh *gwawl*, rampart. Both Skene and Rhys regard *pean* as British, belonging to the “Britons of Fortrenn,” or if not so, borrowed from the British. Cormac records the word *cartit*, a pin or brooch pin, to which Stokes compares the old Welsh *garthon*, goad.

We have, however, ample means to judge the affinities of the Pictish language in the numerous personal and place-names recorded by classical and later writers, or still extant in old Pictavia.

(1) Names in the classical writers.

Tacitus first mentions Caledonia, by which he means Scotland north of the Firths, and Ptolemy writes it Kalēdonios. The long *e* between *l* and *d* is guaranteed by the old Welsh Celydon, and Nennius’s Celidon; but all the same, it must be regarded as a Roman mispronunciation of Caldon—*ld* being not

common in Latin as a combination, for early Gaelic shows Callden, now Caillinn, Scotch Keld, in Dun-Keld; and there are three other names near at hand there with the same ending, notably, Schiehallion. The root *cald* in Celtic means "wood," and Caldonii would mean "woodlanders."

Tacitus also records the Boresti in Fife; he gives the personal name Calgacus, "sworded one" (Gaelic *calg*, *colg*, Welsh *caly*), The much misread Mons Graupius (now Grampian), yields the root *grup*, a non-Gadelic root in *p*, which argues its Picto-Brittonic character. Stokes compares it to Greek *grūpos*, rounded (Ger. *krumm*, bent). The Orcades, or Orkney Isles, give the Celtic root *orc*, pig, possibly here meaning "whale."

Ptolemy (circ. 140 A.D.) in his geography, gives some 44 names connected with Pictland. Ptolemy's tribal names begin in south Pictland with the Damnonii, who stretched across the neck of Scotland from Ayr to Fife. It is usual to regard the word as a variant of the Cornish Dūmnoni, now Devon (Gaelic *domhan*, world, and *dumno*); both Skene and Rhys allow them to be Britons—those Britons of Fortrenn who were responsible for the Brittonic elements in the Pictish language according to the theories held by these writers. The Epidi of Kintyre are distinctly of the P Celtic branch; the root *ep* or *eq* means horse (stem *eqo*, Gaulish *epo*). The Carnonacai (G. *carn*), the Cairēni ("sheep men"), the Cornavii (compare Cornwall), the Lūgi (*lug*, win), Smertai and Vaco-magi (*magh*, plain), are all good Celtic names; and to these may be added the Decantai, found also in Wales, and the Vernicones (G. *fearna*, alder?). The Taixali of Aberdeen, and the Ceronēs or Creonēs, are as yet unexplained as to name. The coast names come next. The Clōta or Clyde is from the Celtic *clu*, clean; Lemannonios, now Lennox, like lake Lemann, comes from *leman*, elm. The river Longos, Norse Skipafjord, or Loch Long, comes from *long*, ship; Tarvedum (*tarbh*, bull); Cailis river (*caol*, narrow); Dēva river means "goddess," and is a common Celtic name, more Gaulish-Brittonic than Gadelic; Tava, the Tay, has Brittonic equivalents (W. Tawe, Devon Tavy? Welsh *taw*, quiet). Celtic, too, must be Itys (Gaulish Itins), and Vir-vedrum and Verubium (prefix *ver*); nor would it be difficult to explain from Celtic roots Volas or Volsas, Nabaros (*nav*, float?), Ila, now

Ullie (*il*, go), Varar, Tvesis (Spesis? now Spey); and Loxa Tina and Boderia or Bodotria (Forth), are doubtful. The town names are less satisfactory. Alauna, really the river Allan, a good Celtic river name (W. *Alun*, Cornish Alan, root *pal*); Lindum, G. *linne*, loch, water, possibly Linlithgow; Victoria, a translated name, in West Fife; Dēvana, "goddess," Gaulish Dīvona, "fons additus divis," gets its name from the river as usual, viz., the Don, old Gaelic Deon, now Dian, being in spite of its inland bearings, really Aberdeen; Orrea, Bannatia, and Tamia are not immediately explicable, though, as far as mere roots are concerned, they can be Celtic. Alata Castra, or Winged Camp, is supposed to be Burghead. It is a translated name. So, too, is High Bank, between the Ullie or Helmsdale, and the Varar or Moray Firth. This has recently been happily equated with the Oykel, whose "High Banks" the Norse usually made the southern boundary of their conquests, and which they called Ekkjals-bakki, or Ekkjal's Bank. The name Oykel goes along with the Oichil Hills and Ochiltree, and is from Celtic *uxellos*, high, Welsh *uchel*, Gaelic *uasal*. The Pictish here shows decidedly Brittonic phonetics. The island names prove nothing: Ebouda, perhaps for Boud-da, now Bute; Malaïos, now Mull (*mal*, *mel*, brow, hill); Epidium (*ech*, horse); Ricina; Dumna (compare Dumnoni); and Skitis, now possibly Skye (not *ski*, cut, "indented isle.")

The historians of Severus's campaign (208-11) record but few names. The Maiatai and Caledoni are the only tribes mentioned, seemingly having the north of Scotland between them, the Maiatai being next the northern wall. Adamnan calls them Miathi; the name is still unexplained. Argento-coxos was a Caledonian chief of the time; the name means "Silver-leg." A tablet found some years ago at Colchester gives us the war god's name as Medocius (G. and Irish Miadhach) and the devotee's name as Lossio Veda Nepos Vepogeni Caledo. The date of the inscription is from 232-235. Prof. Rhys has suggested that Lossio (Brittonic gen. Lossion-os, Gadelic Lossen-as) is related to the Welsh personal name Lleision. Vepogenos, the name of the Caledonian's grandfather or uncle (possibly), is thoroughly of the P variety of Celtic, and it appears in a shorter root form (*vip*) in the Pictish list of Kings (Vip, Vipoig), Gaelic

Fiacha, a common name. *Veda* may be for *Veida*, and this in a shorter root form appears in the Pictish Kings' list as *Uoid*, *i.e.*, *Vid*. Ammianus Marcellinus (circ. 400) gives the two tribes of Pictland as *Di-calidonæ* and *Vecturiones*. The latter name has been happily corrected by Prof. Rhys into *Verturiones*, whence the historic name of Fortrenn, the district between the Forth and the Tay.

To sum up the results of the above analysis: one-third of the names can easily be paralleled elsewhere on Celtic ground—Gaulish or Brittonic, though not on Gadelic ground; a fourth more show good Celtic roots and formative particles, and another fourth can easily be analysed into Aryan or Celtic radicals. These facts dispose of Prof. Rhys's theory of the non-Aryan and non-Celtic character of the Pictish, and it also makes so far against Skené's Gadelic view—a name like *Epidi* being especially decisive against a Q language. The names of northern Pictavia show no difference in linguistic character from those of the south, as witness—*Deva*, *Devana*, *Vacomagi*, *Caelis*, *Smertae*, *Lugi*, *Cornavi*, *Caireni*, *Carnonacae*, *Tarvedum*, *Verubium* (root *ub*, point, weapon); and, finally, *Orcades*.

(2) Post-classical Pictish Names.

Contemporaries like Adamnan and Bede record but few Pictish names, and we depend on the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots for complete King lists, and on the Irish Annals as a check on these lists and as a source of further names, and especially, place-names. The lives of the Saints present some names, but this is a doubtful source. The King list begins with *Cruithne*, the eponymus of the race, who is contemporary with the sons of *Miledh*, the Gadelic invaders of Ireland, whose date is only 1700 B.C. according to the Annals. We have 66 names of Kings to cover the period from *Cruithne* to *Brude*, son of *Mailcon* (554-584 A.D.), the King who received *Columba* in 565. Imagination seems to have failed the Pictish genealogists in making this list, for they fill a long gap with 30 Kings of the same name—*Brude*, differentiating them by epithets that go in couples, thus: *Brude Leo*, *Brude Ur-leo*, *Brude Pont*, *Brude Ur-pont*, &c. The *ur* here is the Gaulish prefix *ver*, Welsh *gur*, *guor*, Irish *fer*, *for*, allied to English *hyper* and *over*. It is very common as a prefix in all the branches of Celtic. It is useless to take these

King names seriously before Brude Mac Mailcon's time, though one figure may be historic—Nectan, son of Erp (A.D. 480), who is said to have given Abernethy to Derlugdach, abbeſs of Kildare. The name Nectan is common to Pictiſh and Gaelic ; it comes from *necht*, pure, whose root is *nig*, waſh. The Pictiſh form and pronunciation is doubtleſs beſt recorded by Bede's Naiton, which ſhows Brittonic phonetics in changing *ct* into *it*. Erp, the father's name, was common in Pictland, and we laſt hear of it among the Norſe. Erp, ſon of Meldun, a Scottiſh Earl, and grandſon of an Iriſh King, was captured by the Norſe, and as a freed man went to coloniſe Iceland in the end of the ninth century ; from him deſcended the Erplingi clan of Iceland. This is clearly the Pictiſh equivalent of Welſh Yrp (Triads) and Gadelic Erc, the latter a very common name (*erc* means cow, heaven). Brude appears in Bede in a more Welſh form as Bridei ; Stokes equates it with Eng. *proud*. Mailcon, the father, may have been the famous Welſh King, whom Gildas calls Maglo-cunus, "High Chief," known later as Maelgwyn of Gwyned. The liſt from Brude Mac Mailcon to Kenneth Mac Alpin is in the Pictiſh Chronicles as follows :—

Gartnait filius Domelch (584-599). The name Gartnait, or Garnait, was very common in Pictland. It comes from *gart*, head ; Welſh, *garth*. It is non-Gadelic. Domelch is in the Ir. Annals given as Domnach (from *dumno*).

Nectan nepos Uerb (599-619), "nephew of Verb." Verb appears in many Gauliſh and Britiſh names. In Ir. it means "cow," "blotch ;" in O. W. *gverp*, ſtigma.

Ciniad f. Lutrin (619-631) ; Ir. Cinaed Mac Luchtren. The firſt name is our modern Kenneth (*cin-aed*, "fire-kin"), common to Ir. and Pictiſh. Lutrin is a Pictiſh form of Celtic Lugo-trenos, "ſtrong by the god Lug." *Lug* either means the "ſun-god" or "winner."

Gartnait f. Uuid or Wid (631-635). The name Vid is to be compared to O. W. *guid* as in Guid-lon, Guid-nerth ; fuller form Veida, already mentioned. Seemingly the root is *vid*, know. It alſo exiſts in Ir. as a prefix : Fid-gus, Fid-gaile.

Bridei f. Uuid or Wid (635-641). Brude ſon of Vid, brother of above.

Talore frater eorum (641-653). The name Talorg and Talorgan is purely Pictiſh, and is the ſame as Gauliſh Argio-talos, "Silver Brow." It is common ; there was a St. Talorgan. The phonetics of the Pictiſh Chronicle are here purely Britiſh (*rg* becoming *re*).

Talorcan f. Ensfret (653-657). Talorgan, ſon of Eanfrid, King of Bernicia, who was an exile in Pictland. The name Eanfrid is Saxon.

Gartnait f. Donnel (657-663). The father's name is Domnall or Donald (Dumno-valos, "World-King"), and it is Irish. He was himself likely a Scot of Dalriada.

Drest frater ejus (663-672). Drust is meant. It is a common name and purely Pictish. Its longer form is Drostan, old Cornish inscription Drustagni; more celebrated as Tristan or Tristram of the legends. Stokes makes the root *drut*, W. *drud*, brave, strong. Compare Eng. *trust* and the terminal *trud* in Teutonic names (Ger-trude, &c.).

Bridei f. Bili (672-693). Brude, son of Bili or Beli, King of Strathclyde. The name is British (Ir. *bil*, good).

Taran f. Entfidich (693-697). Taranis was the Gaulish "thunder" deity. W. *taran*, thunder. Adamnan has Tarainus, a Pict. The Irish Annals give Enfidaig for the father's name, En-fidach possibly; Fidach, son of Cruithne, and Vid, already discussed, have the same root.

Bridei f. Derili (697-706). Brude, son of Derile. The *der* may be an intensive prefix, as in W. Der-guist, O. Br. Der-monoc. There are also Dergard and Doirgarto, which came from Der-gart, *gart* being as in Gartnait.

Nectan f. Derili (706-724-729), brother of above.

Drust and *Alpin* co-reigned. The name Alpin is purely British; if native, the root is *alb*, white, as in Alpes, the Alps. It seems allied to the name Alba, the older Albion.

Onnust f. Urgust (730-760). Angus, son of Fergus. Both names are common to British and Irish. They mean "Unique Choice" and "Super-choice."

Bridei f. Urgust (760-762), Angus's brother.

Ciniad f. Wirdech (762-774). Kenneth, son of Feradach. An early mythic king was called Wradéch, Ir. Annals, Uuradach, that is, Feradach. The name seems both Ir. and Pictish.

Alpin f. Wroid (774-779). Ir. Annals, Feroth and Ferith, compare W. Gueruduc.

Drust f. Talorgan (779-783).

Talorgan f. Onnust or *Angus* (783-786).

Canaul f. Tarla (783-788), mis-reading for Conall, son of Tadg, both names being purely Irish, and he seems to have been a Scot interloper.

Constantin f. Urgust (d. 820). Constantine is Latin; Fergus, already discussed.

Unnust f. Urgust (820-833). Angus, son of Fergus, his brother.

Drest or *Drust f. Constantin*, and *Talorgan f. Utholl*, co-reigned 3 years.

Uwen or *Eogan f. Unnust* or *Angus* (836-838). Eogan is both British and Gaelic.

Wrad f. Bargoit, 3 years. [Possibly Dergairt.]

Bred or *Brude*, son of Dergard, "Ultimus rex Pictorum" (St Andrews Priory Reg.). For Dergard, see *Bridei f. Derili*.

The above list, as handed down by the Pictish Chronicles, the age of which is unknown, is decidedly British in phonetics, and the names Brude, Gartnait, Talorgan, Drostan, and Alpin, are foreign to old Gaelic; but, at the same time, they are explicable from British sources. There is nothing non-Celtic in the list. It tells, therefore, both against Skene and Rhys.

(3) The so-called Pictish Inscriptions.

Pictland shares with the south of Ireland, Cornwall, and South Wales the peculiarity of possessing inscriptions in Ogam character. Ogam writing is an Irish invention, coincident probably with the introduction of Christianity into southern Ireland in the fourth century. By the south Irish missionaries this style of inscription was introduced into Cornwall and South Wales; and naturally we must look to the same people as its propagators in Pictland. The south Irish conformed to Rome in Easter and other matters in 633 or thereabout. It is likely that they came to Pictland in the Roman interest some time after, and may have been mainly instrumental in converting King Nectan in 710 to adopt the Roman Calendar. The Irish Annals say that he expelled the Columban monks in 716 over his conversion to Rome.

We should naturally expect these inscriptions to be either in Irish or Pictish, but Prof. Rhys has jumped to the conclusion that they are purely Pictish, and, as his Pictish is non-Aryan, so is the language of these inscriptions. Unfortunately they are difficult to decipher; the results as yet are a mere conglomeration of letters, mostly *h*, *v*, and *n*. One at Lunasting in the Orkneys is punctuated, and according to Rhys runs thus:—

Ttocuhetts : ahehhttmnnn : hccvvevv : nehhtonn.

In opposition to those who hold that Pictish was a Brittonic tongue, Prof. Rhys cites the above, and declares that if it be Welsh he will confess he has not understood a word of his mother-tongue! It is neither Welsh nor any other language under the moon. Mr. Lang quotes the inscription and says—"This appears to be not only non-Aryan, but non-human! or not correctly deciphered. Some people seems to have dropped all its aspirates in one place at Lunasting." A word here and there is in a general way recognisable in these decipherments (as above the last word looks like Nechtan), but as yet these

inscriptions are not correctly deciphered, and some, like the Golspie stone, are too weathered or worn to be deciphered.

(4) Place-names of Pictland.

Only a *resumé* can be given here. The Pictish place-names are very different from names on Gadelic ground—Ireland and Dalriada. There is, of course, a veneer of Gaelic over them, as the Scots really did impose their language as well as their rule on the Picts. Place-names in the Isles and in Sutherland and Caithness must be left out of account, since they are largely Norse. From the southern borders of Ross to the Forth east of Drumalban the names have all a marked family resemblance, partly Gaelic, partly Pictish. The prefixes *aber* and *pet*, unknown to Gadelic, are found from Sutherland to the Forth. The former means “confluence,” and had two forms, *aper* and *oper*, as in Welsh (*ad*, *od*, and *ber*, Lat. *fero*); the Gaelic for *aber* is *inver*, and it has in the most common names superseded the Pictish *aber*. *Pet* means “farm,” G. *baile*, which, in fact, has superseded it in purely Gaelic districts for a reason which the dictionary should make clear. The prefix *both*—farm, dwelling, common to Irish and Welsh as an ordinary noun, is widely used in Pictland to denote a *bally*. *Pres*, a bush, W. *prys*, a covert, is a borrowed Pictish word, and occasionally appears in place-names, as does *perth*, brake, in Perth, Partick (old Perthoc, Strathclyde British), and Pearcock or Perthoc (King Edward). British *pen* we do not find now; every one such has become *kin*, as in Kin-cardine, a very common name, for Pen-cardin, W. *cardden*, brake. Equally common is Urquhart for older Ur-charden, Adamnan’s Airchartdan, “At (the) Wood.” A prepositional prefix peculiar to Pictish names is *for*, *fother*, corrupted into *fetter* (Fetter-cairn) and *foder* (Foder-lettir). It is corrupted also into *far* (Far-letter = Foder-letter). Possibly it is an adjective terminally in Dunottar (Dun Foither of Chronicles?), Kin-eddar (King Edward), &c. It seems to mean “lower,” “under”: *vo-ter*, a comparative from *vo*, Gaelic *fo*, under. The extensive use of certain prefix names in Pictland is observable as compared to Ireland, where their use is rare: strath, ben, monadh (rare in Ireland), allt (“stream” in Pictland), corrie, blair, and cairn. *LAN*, so common in Wales, is rare, though known, in Pictland; the *cill* of the Iona monks gave *lan* no chance.

Ochil Hills and Oykel river have already been discussed. Space does not allow the discussion of individual place-names; nor can the influence of Pictish on Gaelic phonetics and vocabulary be touched. Such a word as *preas*, bush, already alluded to, is easily detected as a Pictish borrow, because initial *p* is non-Gaelic, and its root *gre*, or *ger*, is allied to G. *crann*, W. *prenn*.

IV.—Pictish Manners and Customs.

For the manners and customs of early Scotland, Skene goes to Ireland, and transfers the whole social system to Pictavia; so, as the latest example, does Mr. Andrew Lang. But surely the Book of Deer ought to have warned them all that this is utterly wrong. The public life outlined there resembles the Irish, but it is not the same. We have the king (*rt*), *mórmaer* or great steward (translated earl or jarl), and *tóisech* or clan chief: also the *clan*. The word *mórmaer* means "lord"; but it must be a Gaelic translation of the Pictish word, for the Gaelic itself is hybrid (*mór*, great; *maer*, officer; from Lat. *major*). We have only three grades of nobility here, nor is there any trace else of more. The tenure of land is the usual Celtic one, but the only word of definite import we get is *dabach* or *davoch*, four ploughlands, a term peculiar to Pictland, though extended slightly in feudal times to the West Coast and Isles. We see, therefore, that the older Pictish system underlies the Gaelic kingdom of Scotland.

Another serious point, whose significance was lost by Skene, and found only too well by Prof. Rhys, is the Pictish rule of succession, or the marriage system. The succession to the throne (Bede) and to property (Irish writers) lay in the females; that is to say, a man succeeded to the throne because his mother was the previous king's daughter or sister. The king's brother was his heir, and failing him, his sister's son. It was the female side that was royal. A glance at the king list given above shows this: no son succeeds a father, but a brother often succeeds a brother. The fathers, too, were often outsiders: Talorgan, son of Enfrid, Prince of Bernicia, and called cousin of Egfrid (686); Brude, son of Bili, King of Strathclyde; Gartnait, son of Domhnall, Donald being likely a Scotie prince. This system, where maternity alone is regarded as certain, holds a low view of marriage, and is at present found only among uncivilised races. Cæsar knew of the existence in Britain of

promiscuous marriage; Dion tells us that the wife of Argentocoxos, a Caledonian, acknowledged promiscuity among the high-born; and Bede explains the system of his day—that the Picts got their wives from the Scots on condition of the succession to the throne being through the females.

Here we have a custom palpably belonging to a non-Aryan race, not to speak of a non-Celtic race. It must therefore be due to the customs of the previous inhabitants still surviving among the Celts; the vanquished here took captive their victors. Whether the Pictish language was also influenced by the previous one it is hard to say; but the influence could not be much, because Celtic civilisation was much higher than the native one, and borrowing would be unnecessary.

To sum up the argument we cannot do better than quote Prof. Mackinnon's criticism on Dr. Skene's position:—"The question cannot, however, be settled on such narrow lines as these [Pictish if non-Gaelic would have left remains, and an interpreter was only wanted twice.] The questions of blood and language must always be kept distinct. Anthropology and archæology may hereafter yield concrete evidence which will be decisive of this matter. As things are, the following facts must be kept in the forefront. Among the Picts, succession was through the female. This custom is unknown among the Celts; it is, so far as we know, non-Aryan. Again, Bede regarded Pictish as a separate language. The Gael of Ireland looked upon the Picts or Cruithnig, to use the native term, as a people different from themselves. Cormac, the first Gaelic lexicographer, gives one or two Pictish words, quoting them as foreign words, at a time when presumably Pictish was still a living language. The Norsemen called the Pentland Firth *Pettland*, *i.e.*, *Pictland Fjörd*, while the Minch was *Skottland Fjörd*. Mr. Whitley Stokes, after examining all the words in the old records presumably Pictish, says: 'The foregoing list of names and words contains much that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech. Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish.'" Celtic scholars of the first rank who have pronounced on the matter are all agreed that Pictish was not Gaelic, as Skene held.

NOTES.

Page 2, second last line. Buellan is another form of Boyle.

Page 3, line 17. For Hamilcar read Himilco.

Page 4, line 10. There is no distinction between Albiones and Britanni. Albion originally meant all Britain; it is the Irish that restricted the name to Scotland.

Page 9, line 9. Vecturiones, possibly a misreading for Verturiones later Fortren.

Page 21. Gift of Iona, according to native annals, was made by King Conall of Dalriada. Bede is here mistaken. For the extent of the power of the Gael, see Excursus above, p. 386. Strabo's "Islands of the Picts" is poetic license. The older Argyle stretched to Lochbroom, and in Norse times the Minch was *Skoßland Fjord*.

Page 23. Picts, Piccardach, Pictores, Picti, &c. Dr. Skene's, attempted distinction in these names is not supported by the facts, and it finds no place in *Celtic Scotland*.

Page 25, line 5. Read "Eochaid Iarlaithi rex Cruithne moritur." The Cruithnig meant were those of Ireland.

Page 26. The Pictish Succession. See Excursus. The succession among the Scots was Patriarchal, but the king or chief was elective by the nobles. A king's successor was appointed during his lifetime, and was called the Tanist, which really means the Second. He was usually brother of the king, and generally gave way before the king's son, if the latter was of age.

Pages 30-43. THE SCOTTISH CONQUEST. Here Dr. Skene declines to follow the Latin Chronicles for the Dalriad kings of the 8th century, and puts his faith in a poem called the "Albanic Duan," a monkish exercise of unknown date (professing to be written in Malcolm Canmore's reign, and calling Macbeth "renowned"!), and of little value. This is unfortunate, for Dr. Skene has misread the plain Chronicle history of Dalriada. The Duan confuses Dungal, son of Selbach (circ. 735), with Dungal, son of Ewen (circ. 835), and places Alpin, the successor of the latter, as successor to the former, thus killing off Alpin in 743 instead of 843. Dungal and Alpin are the immediate predecessors of Kenneth the Conqueror in reality. Would it be believed that Skene actually places them like the Albanic Duan, one hundred years earlier, and closes the record of Dalriad kings for the next hundred years, regarding the kings in the lists, even in the Albanic Duan, as inserted by the monkish Chroniclers to fill the vacant gap? Yet so it is! Pinkerton, before him, performed the same feat. The reason in both cases is the same—to get rid of the Dalriad Scots and their Conquest. Nor was there material wanting to make the suppression of the Dalriad kingdom plausible. Angus MacFergus, King of Fortrenn, waded his way to the Pictish throne through blood—"a sanguinary tyrant," as a Saxon chronicle

calls him. For an outrage on his son he invaded Dalriada and captured Dungal, King of Lorn, and possibly of Dalriada also, in 735, and in 740 he gave Dalriada a "smiting." In the same year a battle was fought in Ireland between the Cruithnig and Dalriads of that country. Skene transfers this fight to Galloway somehow, and manages to kill in it Alpin, the Dalriad King that appears then in the Albanic Duan. (A late Chronicle has it that the real Alpin fell in Galloway.) With the death of the king, the kingdom of Dalriada falls under Angus's sway, and it remains evermore Pictish—so Skene. The real truth is different. Angus's invasions were of no more moment than his invasions of the Britons, who in 749 inflicted heavy slaughter on the Picts, and the significant remark is made by the annalist—"Wane of Angus's kingdom"—a remark which Dr. Skene never saw. It occurs in Hennessy's new edition of the Annals of Ulster. Skene makes Angus a great king and conquering hero to the end (760). While he dies as "King of the Picts," his successor (his brother) dies as "King of Fortrenn." This dynasty had shrunk to its original measure of power; and with it also tumble the theories built on it by Pinkerton and Skene. Later writers while accepting Skene's views that there was no Scottish Conquest, have usually refused to follow him in his suppression of Dalriada and its kings in 740. King Aed Finn fought with the Pictish King in *Fortrenn* in 767, a fact which Skene finds it hard to explain away. Aed's death is also recorded in the Annals—777; his brother's in 780. In the Latin list given on p. 33, the first two names should be deleted, and for Eogan should be read Eochaidh, who was father of Alpin, who was father of Kenneth the Conqueror. The conquest of the Picts cannot be clearly explained from our present materials. There was constant dynastic war for the last generation of kings—attempts mostly to break the Pictish rule of succession; and it is notable how Scottish names are very prominent. The Danes harassed the Picts north and east. The Scots, pressed out of the Isles by the Norse, pressed eastward in their turn. The Scots also had the Church and the culture very much their own; Iona was undoubtedly the religious centre till the Norse caused a change to be made. Both in Pictland and in Strathclyde Gaelic ultimately and completely wiped out the original Pictish and British. The west coast from the Clyde to the Solway was, in the 11th century, "as Gaelic as the Peat." See further the Editor's paper on "Skene," in *Inverness Gaelic Soc. Trans.*, vol. xxi.

Page 36, line 6 from bottom. The Pictish prince of Kintyre! What an inversion of facts is here!

Page 41, line 2. *Cruithen tuath* meant the Pictish nation (Pictavia), not the Northern Picts. There was no distinction whatever between northern and southern Picts; it is all a delusion, founded on Bede's reference to the Grampians as a physical division of Pictavia.

Page 45, line 7 from bottom. Welsh *Gwyddyl Ffichti* proves nothing; the authority is too late, the word *Gwyddyl* being phonetically very unsatisfactory.

Page 46, line 3 from end. The word *dobur* is common to Welsh and old Gaelic. It proves nothing either way.

Page 50, line 20. The quotation about Aed Finn's laws, promulgated by

the Gael at Forteviot, surely speaks against Skene's views, and implies conquest.

Page 53, line 2. The Mormaer of Moray was often by the Irish Annalists loosely called *ri Alban*. This Malcolm was not *the* King Malcolm (1005-1034).

Page 53, line 16. Read "Mormaer Moreb," Mormaer of Moray. For *Mormaer* see Excursus above.

Chapter V. The Norse Invasions, &c. Here Skene tries to write the history of Scotland from 843 to 1057 from *new* sources, viz., the Norse Sagas checked by the Irish Annals. He never refers to the native Chronicles, which during this period are no longer mere lists of kings. The results of Skene's departure from native sources are here again disastrous. The chapter may well be omitted in reading the book, for it is entirely misleading. The facts are correctly given in *Celtic Scotland*, where Dr. Skene makes the Chronicles his basis, and adds interesting particulars from the Norse Saga. But even in *Celtic Scotland* he failed to appreciate the full force of the Norse Invasions. For a period of over four hundred years the Norse were in possession of the Western Isles and a fringe of the mainland (Kintyre, &c.), and for shorter periods they held Argyle in all its extent to Lochbroom (Dalir), Sutherland, and Caithness. With less firm hand they held Ross to the Beaully Valley (Dingwall, "County Meeting Field," being still the Norse name of the capital of Ross). The place names prove this. The Hebrides could have no Gaelic left spoken in them. The place names in Lewis are in the proportion of 4 Norse to 1 Gaelic. This surely speaks for itself. In Islay, however, the proportion of Gaelic is to Norse as 2 to 1. It is certain that Gaelic had to reconquer (if it was there before) the Hebrides, Skye and Sutherland (in great part). The ethnological characteristics of the people of these parts fully bear this out, as Dr. Beddoe shows. The Norse element is very strong throughout.

Page 60. The Norse settled in the Isles early in the 9th century.

Page 61, line 11. "*Native* chiefs"; there were scarcely any left. It was Norse chiefs who rebelled against Harald.

Page 63, line 22. The "Native chiefs" could scarcely then have recovered Sutherland. The Sagas were unfortunately written when Caithness became part of Scotland (1196-1200).

Page 65, line 4. There were no "Midland Cruithne." See correction of this mistake at note on p. 25 above. The elaborate argument about the Ptolemy names and those of the 10th century (pp. 65-69) is useless and groundless.

Page 71, line 14. The Malcolm that succeeded in 1005 to the throne of Scotland was Malcolm Mac Kenneth, who reigned 30 years. The other Malcolm was only Mormaer or King of Moray. This error is acknowledged by Dr. Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 400.

Pages 69-76. All these pages are from Norse Sagas, and as given here are useless as history. Macbeth's connection with Thorfinn and the Norse is a matter of doubt. His name never appears in the Sagas. The name Macbeth, Gaelic Mac-bethadh, means "Son of Life." Dr. Skene evidently thought that there was a Gaelic personal name Beth, and he would not allow

that Comes Beth mentioned twice in the Chartulary of Scone is manifestly a mistake for Comes Heth, of Moray (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 62). He is the ancestor of the famous Mac-Eths, and was married to the daughter of King Lulach. The name is Aed, "fire," a favourite old name, later Aodh, Englished as Hugh and lost, but still living in the surname Mackay and Mackie.

Page 79, &c. Thorfinn's mainland power is vastly exaggerated in the Sagas. Its southern limit was Beaul Valley, where the Norse names fail. He had also the Kingdom of the Isles and the West Coast fringe (old Argyle or Dalir, as they called it).

Page 81, line 21. Donald Mac Malcolm here mentioned is, of course, King Malcolm's own son.

Page 81, line 28. For Mortlach, see *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 379.

Page 81, line 3 from bottom. This is the same Donald as in l. 21. King Maelsnechtan is in the Annals *et* Moreb. His father Lulach was Macbeth's successor for half a year.

Page 82, line 4. Caithness, Sutherland, and old Argyle were still Norse or under Norse rule. It was King William who really annexed Caithness and Sutherland to the Scottish Crown; and Argyle was finally subdued in 1222.

Page 82. Donald Bane was "elected" king. He was at first *tanist*.

Page 85. Ladmann or Lamont, son of Donald, was slain by the Moray men. He was really son of the Donald on p. 81, already mentioned. See *Celtic Scotland*, i. 453. The argument is therefore wrong.

Page 86. Too much is made of the "Boy of Egremont." The conspiracy of the six earls is unexplained. See *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 66, where the Boy is cautiously suggested.

Page 90, line 13. Dr. Skene here suggests that the fall of the Macdonalds meant the fall of the Highland clans. Why, it was the *rise* of the modern Highland clans. It freed the great clans of Maclean, Macleod, Mackay, Cameron, and especially, Mackenzie, not to mention minor clans, who in the 15th century all freely got Crown charters independent of the Macdonald chiefs.

Page 96, line 26. One of the greatest factors in the change of the Highlands from mediævalism to more modern habits of thought was the inflow of Presbyterian ideals in religion. Before the '45 the Highlanders were from a religious standpoint neither good Episcopalians nor Presbyterians at all. Indeed, they resisted Presbyterianism. A religious revival rose in the last half of the 18th century and spread slowly all over the north, which assured the success of Presbytery.

Chapter VII. This chapter is rendered almost valueless by later research, which is given in full in *Celtic Scotland*, iii. chaps. iv. to viii.

Page 100. Modern Highland clans have been feudal in succession and tenure of land; but the kinship feeling still remained.

Page 102, line 16. The officer of Engineers was Captain Burt. His book was reprinted lately.

Page 103. Law of Succession. Dr. Skene says in *Celtic Scotland* that the Irish law of succession was "hereditary in the family, but elective in the individual." This has been shown already. In this work he confuses Pictish and Gaelic succession together.

Page 104. Tanistry. The tanist or next heir was appointed during king's or chief's lifetime, to avoid confusion at his death.

Page 106. Gavel. The rule of dividing the property equally among sons is really not Gaelic nor Scottic. It was very English, however, before feudalism came in. The case of Somarled of the Isles and his descend to the 15th century is peculiar. It was the ruin of a mighty house. Originally, the chief had his mensal lands, and the rest of the tribe belonged to the tribe. But ever since the English Conquest (1172) the old Irish and Gaelic system became corrupt, because the sub-chiefs succeeded to the lands assigned them, and latterly got charters. In Scotland, the case of a Highland clan for the last five hundred years succeeds by primogeniture, and it cannot be held by a bastard (contrary to the old system), nor can it pass through females. This is purely feudal and also Salic.

Page 111, line 12. Native men, or *Nativi*, were simply the bondsmen of the estates. Gradually they were set free, and by the 16th century the term is used in the sense of "kindly men"—men allied by kin to the chief. This is especially the case in bonds of manrent.

Page 114. The Toiseach. Dr. Skene has here fallen into a grievous error. The toiseach was the head of the clan; its earliest translation into Latin was "*capitann*," later "chief" in English. The theory about the oldest cadet being called toiseach is probably due to Skene's view of Mackintoshes as oldest cadets of clan Chattan. The derivation toiseachdorachd, "coronership," is *toiseach*, baillie, and *deoraidh*, a stranger; his first duty was doubtless to attend to incomers into the clan, and not "foreign office" matters. It also exists in Manx, *toisiaght-yoarrey*.

Page 118, Chapter VIII. Dr. Skene's account of the Celtic Church here is an excellent piece of pioneer work. Bishop Reeves later put the whole question of the Celtic Church on a scientific basis; and Dr. Skene's second volume of *Celtic Scotland* is entirely devoted to the Church. It is his best piece of work. It was a monastic Church purely, the abbot being the religious head of the "diocese," or rather of the tribal district, for the Celtic Church was tribal. The abbot might only be a priest, as at Iona usual Bishops had no dioceses; they were attached to the abbey for ordination purposes, and were numerous. Skene fails here to grasp this point. The use of the term Culdee for the Columban clergy is unfortunate. The Culdees belonged to the later and debased state of the Celtic Church (900-1200). They were first anchorites, who later clubbed into 13, still retaining their separate booths or houses and also lands. Later, of course they were married. With great difficulty the Church reform party of the Ceannmore dynasty got them to become canons, and in the 13th century they practically disappeared.

Page 121, line 8. Ireland was, except Dalraidhe, all Scottic; but it was traditionally divided into two halves—Leth Moga and Leth Chuinn, M'Nuadat's Half (south), and Conn's Half (north). These were two kingdoms, somewhat mythical—of the 2nd century A.D.

Page 122. St. Patrick and Palladius are really one person, the person meant being called in British Sucat, "good at war" (W. *hygad*), translated into Græco-Latin as Palladius (Pallas, goddess of war), and naming him-

as Patricius, because he was of noble birth. His sphere in Ireland was the north, and the later Romanisers make him bishop of Armagh. He was a Briton, but no relation of St. Martin of Tours (p. 126, l. 22).

Page 126, line 5 from end. The monks were laymen under monastic *rule*, as usual; but bishops were also monks, and nothing more. It was not, as Bede says, necessary that the abbot should be a bishop.

Page 130, line 3. There really was no episcopacy at Armagh to transfer to Iona.

Page 132, line 21. There were no dioceses apart from the monasteries. There was only one bishop for Scotland—the Bishop of St. Andrews—till King Alexander's time. They really were not needed, as there were no dioceses till the Celtic Church fully conformed to Rome.

Page 134. The Ossianic Poetry. It is needless to enter upon the question of the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian. Celtic scholars are agreed that it is all Macpherson's own work, both English and Gaelic. Indeed, the Gaelic was translated from the English, and is for the most part very ungrammatical and unidiomatic. These very faults—showing its extremely modern character—have been always regarded as marks of antiquity. Ordinary Gaelic readers do not understand it at all. The English is better done, because it is the original. He has little or no foundation in Gaelic legend for his so-called poems: he used only about a dozen stories—and these, too, much abused—of the old literature, forming only a very small fraction of the English work. The latest scholarly views on the subject may be found in Dr. Ludwig Stern's paper on the "Ossianic Heroic Legends," translated in the 22nd vol. of the Inverness Gaelic Soc. Trans. Dr. Skene makes no reference to Finn or Ossian in *Celtic Scotland*. Again here he confuses the older Ulster with the smaller Ulster, called Ulidia or Dalaraidhe, and containing Picts. The list of kings on p. 137 shows to what straits a theory drags a man. Macpherson in "Temora" gives a further corrected list.

Page 138, line 18. The history of Ireland *unknown!* Why, both Keating and O'Flaherty were already published! Macpherson used them for the 1763 volume.

Page 141, line 23. The Bagpipe: "origin unknown." That is not so. It came to Scotland in the 14th century and reached the Highlands in the 16th century, where it was hospitably received. Major (1521) does not mention it among Highland musical instruments, but Buchanan, fifty years later, says the Highlanders used it for war purposes. They also improved it by adding the big drone, whence the "Piob Mhór." It is thoroughly non-Gaelic by origin.

Page 142, Chapter IX. The Highland Dress. About all the information possible in regard to the Highland dress is here given; yet curiously the modern Highland dress of plaid and philabeg are not accounted for. The old dress was a (saffron) leine or shirt, a plaid thrown over the shoulders and brought to the knees all round in plaits and also belted, a bonnet (sometimes), and brogues made of skin, sometimes with hose; knees always bare. This is really a Southern Europe dress, not the "garb of old Gaul," which was breeches. The modern kilt is merely the lower half of the breacan or féile cut off from the upper, a jacket being made of the upper. When this

improvement took place—when the kilt or philabeg was invented—is known to a hundred years. It was during the Lowland wars of the 17th and 18th centuries. Some have even asserted the improvement was made in the early 18th century at the instigation of the Iron Companies that then bought the Highland woods.

Page 157. The Seven Provinces of Scotland. Dr. Skene makes much of these seven earldoms. It is possible that in or about 800 A.D. the Pictish Kingdom was divided into the seven provinces mentioned. The seven of Cruithne are named in the best MSS. as follows :—

Cait, Ce, Cirig (Circinn), a warlike clan,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

Cait is Caithness ; Cirin is Magh-Chircinn or Mearns ; Fib is Fife ; Fotla is Athole ; Fortrenn is Menteith. But what are Ce and Fidach ? Evidently Mar and Moray. Ce may appear in Keith.

Page 158, note. Gouerin is surely Gowrie. Skene's Garmoran is a continual nuisance.

Page 163, the lists. The attempt to explain the 30 Brudes in this way more than obsolete.

Page 176, line 21. The Northern Picts in the 9th and 10th centuries were overrun by Scots and Norse-men, and made less Pictish than any part of Scotland. The Norse-men had the Province of Cat ; the Scots had the West Coast, and were masters of the Mormaership of Moray. He allows the conquest of the Southern Picts by the Scots. Consequently, the chiefs of the older Highland clans can well claim to be either Scots or Norse.

Page 177, line 11 from bottom. "Barbarous Scottish hordes"! Why the Scots were the most learned people of Western Europe then ! The Picts were the barbarians.

Page 176, line 12. THE 1450 MS. Dr. Skene has made much use of this MS.—overmuch use. As far as the Macdonald genealogies go, the MS. reproduces the Book of Ballimote, and otherwise depends on that work. Where it stands alone, as in the case of clans Chattan, Cameron, Mackenzie, Ross, Matheson, Macfee, Macgregor, Maclaren, Mackay (of Perthshire), and Maclagans, it has to be used with caution, even as late as 1400. The genealogies end from 1400 to 1450. The MS. is now undecipherable, owing to the employment of chemicals by its first editors.

Page 181, line 5. The MS. here alluded to is the famous Dean of Lismore's Book, published in 1862.

Pages 184, 185. John Elder's views. This rascally turncoat tells Henry VIII. that the Redshanks were Picts, and that they were racially the old stock descended from the mythical Brutus, and hence naturally belonged to Britain and England. The story of descent from Scota, or from the Scots, he repudiates. In fact he takes up Edward I.'s position in his letter to the Pope about his claims on Scotland ; the Scots, with Bruce at their head, claimed independence as being from Ireland, descended of Scota. Dr. Skene favours the English view ! The two stories are myths ; they are not even traditions.

Page 186, line 16. The extraordinary statement made here that we first hear of the Scota descent in 1320 in the letter to the Pope is contradicted by

many documents, and all Irish history. See *Picts and Scots Chronicles* passim.

Page 187, line 4 from end. The idea of "Highland chief" was first translated by "capitanus"; it implies nothing as to descent.

Chapter II. THE GALL-GAIDHEIL. As already said, these were the mixed Norse and Gaels dwelling in the Western Isles and along the west coast from Galloway to Cape Wrath, afterwards reduced to the Kingdom of Man and the Isles. The Gael portion seem to have turned heathen, thinking Thor more powerful than Christ. The Hebrides were completely Norse. The term Vikingr Skotar of course applies to the Gaels among these Gall-Gaidheil; but the Norse were by far the more numerous in the combined nationality, if it may be so termed. The Gall-Gaidheil never held any part of Perthshire—Dunkeld or any other place (p. 192).

Page 191. Battle of Brunanburgh. There were two Anlafs present. Anlaf Cuaran, son of Sitric, son of Imar, claimant to Deira, and Anlaf, son of Godfred, King of Dublin and Cumberland. The former was Norse paternally, despite a Saga reference. See Skene himself on the point in *Celtic Scotland*, i. 353.

Page 197. SOMERLED. He was "regulus of Argyll," which the Norse called Dalir, and his family the Dalverja. This is simply the old name Dalriada, which the Norse Sagas claim to have been often conquered and held by their Kings and Earls. Somerled's name is Norse—Sumarlidhi, "summer-slider," that is, "mariner." He was son of Gille-brighde, son of Gille-adamnan. These two names are thoroughly Gaelic. The genealogy then gives "son of Solam (Solomund?) son of Imergi, son of Suibne, son of Nialgusa." Imergi or Mergad is conjectured to be the kinglet Iehmarc who submitted to Canute in 1031, Macbeth being the other. On the whole, Somerled may be regarded as a Gael ruling independently over the mixed Norse and Gael of Argyleshire, the Gael being there predominant in numbers, though not in martial activity. In Somerled's genealogy is Suibne, son of Nialgusa. Skene makes him Suibne, son of Kenneth (p. 198), to fit his Suibne, son of Kenneth, King of the Gall-Gaidheil, who died in 1034. He deliberately charges the genealogist with here tampering with the facts; but really why should the genealogist do so? He had gone back far enough, in all conscience. This Kenneth is made King of Galloway in Skene's "Picts and Scots"!

Page 199, line 25. The MS. here referred to is the Red Book of Clanranald (*Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. ii. p. 154).

Page 200, line 17. The date here should be 1135. David's conquest of Man, Bute, and Arran is not mentioned in *Celtic Scotland*, and seems mythical. David had some claim over Kintyre as monastic charters show (*Orig. Par.* vol. ii. part i. p. 1).

Page 200, line 7 from end. The sons of Malcolm Mac-Heth were nephews of Somerled (*nepotes* then meant nephew). Malcolm himself was brother to Angus of Moray, whose father Aed was husband of King Lulach's daughter. Malcolm's history is mixed up with that of an impostor—Bishop Wymund of Man—who asserted that he was Malcolm Mac-Heth. The surname is now Mackay. See further note to p. 279.

Page 202, line 24. Somerled was slain before any battle occurred by one of his own men in his tent at night. The Sudreys included all the Scottish Isles on the West Coast; the historical expression is "Sudreys and Man," still known in the title of the "Bishop of Sodor and Man."

Page 202, line 6 from end. No grandson of the name of Somerled succeeded Somerled. His power and lands were divided between his three sons by Ragnhild, daughter of King Olave of the Isles and Man. Dugall, the eldest, received Lorn, Morvern, and Mull; Reginald got Kintyre, Cowall, and Islay; while Angus, the third son, received lands further north, of which he and his family were dispossessed by Reginald (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 293).

Page 205, line 3. "Lochaber held by the chief of Clan Chattan"—this is pure tradition, and wrong at that. The sheriffship here meant is Balliol's division in 1292 (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 88-89).

Page 205, line 20. Reginald never had Lorn or any of Dugall's possession. See notes on Clan Dugall.

Page 208, line 12. King Ewen of Argyle did not die without issue. See *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 294.

Page 209, line 2. The two Reginalds. If historians are careless or partisan, it is easy to confuse Reginald of Man and the Isles with Reginald of Islay and Kintyre. Reginald of Man was a great Viking, and undertook the government of Caithness for William the Lion, about 1196. This is distinctly stated by the Orkney Saga and implied by Roger of Hoveden, who calls Reginald King of Man, but makes him son of Somerled, which he was not. Skene, even in *Celtic Scotland*, is wrong on this point, and so are all the Clan Donald historians.

Page 209, line 11. Roderick was not the eldest son; that honour belongs to Donald, ancestor and name-giver to Clan Donald (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 293).

Page 211, Chapter III. CLAN DONALD. Dr. Skene so entirely changed his views on the Macdonald history and genealogy that *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 293-300, must be consulted. There he avowedly follows Gregory, the most level-headed of clan historians. The name Donald is Celtic: Dumno-valo-s, "World-ruler," the same as the Gaulish Dumnorix. Reginald or Ronald is Norse: "Ruler by the Gods"; his mother bore a feminine form of the same name still known as Raonaid. Donald was eldest son of Reginald.

Page 219, line 15. John's sons by Amy were John, Reginald, and Godfrey. John died early and his family failed; Reginald was the second son and regent of the Isles in John's old age and Donald's youth. Godfrey appears with the title "Lord of Uist," but he too disappears. His son was *not* Alexander Mac Reury of Garmoran; such juggling with names might do in 1837, not now.

Page 220. BATTLE OF HARLAW. There is far too much importance attached to this battle. As Earl of Ross, Donald held estates in Buchan, which his descendants afterwards held, and it is far more probable that the attack on Aberdeenshire was largely due to the desire of recovering his position there, as joint Earl of Buchan.

Page 223, line 6 from bottom. Donald Balloch was a youth of 18, son of John Mor of Islay, cousin of Alexander of Ross. Skene here confuses him with Donald, second son of Reginald; this Donald, who died about 1420,

was ancestor of Glengarry. It is a great blunder. Donald Balloch lived to a good old age in Ireland and the Isles. His betrayal was a ruse ; another man's head was sent to the king.

Page 235, line 10. Macdonalds of Keppoch. These were descended from Angus, illegitimate son of Alaster Carrach. They had no right to any lands ; they simply squatted on lands granted by Alexander of Isles to Mackintosh.

Page 237, line 9. Alexander Macreury of Garmoran cannot be transmogrified into Alexander MacGorrie. Phonetics are against it. MacReury, no doubt, was a descendant of the old M'Rorys of Garmoran, the last legitimate heir being Amy M'Rorie, wife of John of Isles and mother of Reginald of Garmoran, ancestor of Clanranald. Alexander M'Reury was a claimant to the lordship ; and he, with another claimant (?) John MacArthur, got hanged for their conduct.

Page 239. Clanranald and Glengarry. In this earlier work, Skene allowed his connection with the Glengarry family to warp his judgment over undoubted facts. Reginald's eldest son was Allan ; Donald was a younger son. From Allan are descended Clanranald, who, to prove the truth of this, had the lands of Garmoran. The early history of the Glengarry branch is very obscure—an obscurity out of which the family emerged by the heir, about 1510, marrying Sir Donald of Lochalsh's sister, who was co-heiress of Sir Donald. As regards the right of chiefship between Clanranald and Glengarry, it has to be borne in mind that, according to purists, a Highland clan chief cannot be a bastard, even though legitimated, nor can he claim chiefship through the females. Unfortunately for Clanranald, their most famous chief and ancestor was John Moydartach, a bastard legitimated (1531).

Page 242. CLAN DUGALL. Skene has here been led into a most unfortunate blunder by MS. 1450. Skene holds that King Ewen of Argyle died without male issue, because the 1450 MS. happens to drop him in the genealogy. The second blunder is to say that the MacDougalls are descended of Dugall, son of Reginald. The MS. of 1450 and the Book of Ballimote both make this blunder ; but the Book of Lecan gives the true genealogy under the heading of "Clan Somairli," for Dugall was really Somerled's eldest son and therefore head of the house of Somerled. John of Lorn and his father, Alexander de Argadia, were the heads of Somerled's house in Bruce's time. Alexander was son of King Ewen, son of Duncan, son of Dugall, son of Somerled. This is the genealogy given in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 294. It also agrees with the facts, for it would be otherwise difficult to account for Alexander de Ergadia or Lorn. The reference to Cupar Abbey Chartulary is also unfortunate, for Duncan de Lornyn here adduced was Duncan of Lornie, near Perth ! The name Dugall is for Dubh-ghall, "Black Foreigner," that is, Dane. It is on a par with Norman, Frank, the Norman-French Allan (Alemann) and others, formed from national names.

Page 247. SIOL GILLEVRAY. Gillebride rig eilan is a further reading of MS. 1450, in the Iona Club Transactions, p. 358. In *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 473, his place under the guidance of the Irish genealogist Mac Firbis is

taken by Flaithbheartach; and the genealogy is that of Clan Lamont! The connection of King Suibne of Galloway with these mythic names is merely fancy. Anradan, or better Anrothan, is not Henry. The Mac Neills are not mentioned, nor the Mac Gillevrays in MS. 1450. The latter were an old Argyleshire clan; and a branch of Clan Chattan bore the same name—from Gille-bràtha, better Maol-bràtha, "Servant of Doom." Gillebride could never phonetically become Gillevray. The whole page (247) is a mistake.

Page 248, line 10. Knapdale in 1292 belonged to the Earl of Menteith and *was* in the sheriffdom of Lorn. It was acquired from the Sweenes thirty years before as the Paisley charters show.

Page 248. THE MAC NEILLS. This clan was divided into two branches: Mac Neills of Gigha and Castle Sween, and the Mac Neills of Barra. They were separate clans historically, and Gregory thinks, from their non-connection and from their different armorial bearings, that they are not descended from two brothers, but are independent. If there was any chiefship, then Gigha family had it, as the quotation on p. 249, line 21, shows, for this Chief Torkil in 1530, by the same document, is gifted with the non-entry of Gigha. It is a pity Skene did not quote this fact. An excellent account of the Mac Neills of Barra appeared in the *Highland News* for 15th December, 1900, from the pen of Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair. Skene is wrong in saying that the MS. of 1450 contains any reference to the Mac Neills. It does not (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. p. 473). The name Niall means "champion."

Page 250. THE MAC LACHLANS. MS. 1450 derives the MacLachlans, the Lamonts, the Clan Somerled (?), and Mac Ewens of Otter from Aed Alan, the Buirche, son of Anradan, descendant of Niall Glun-dubh, the 10th century Irish king. The Dedaalan given as father of Gilchrist is the above Aed Alan, whom Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 472, regards as a far-away ancestor of Gilchrist. Angus Mac Rory, here and on p. 254, was no ancestor of the Lamonts, as MS. 1450, revised in *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 472, will show. The name Lachlan is somehow descended from Lochlan, "Norse-land."

Page 251. Mac Ewen. The Gaelic of Ewen is Eoghan, "well born," with the same meaning as Eugenius or Eugene.

Page 252. Siol Eachern. The statement that the Clan Dugall Craignish and the Lamonds are of the same stock is justified by the Lamond genealogy in MS. 1450, which Skene had misread. Where he gets his "Siol Eachern" is not known to the Editor. The Mac Eacherns flourished as a clan-let in the first half of the 16th century in Kilblane of Kintyre, the chief having the lands of Killelane and others after the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles. Colin Makauchern of Killelane in 1499 was "mayr of fee" for South Kintyre, as he was before under the Island lord. The land was lost in 1552 to the grasping Lord of Dunivaig. In the first edition of MS. 1450, Skene gives an ill-read genealogy of the Mac Eacherns. Eachthigherna means "Horse-lord."

Page 252. Clan Dugall Craignish. Dugall of Craigins is mentioned in 1292. In 1361 the heiress Christina parted with his barony, in her sore distress, to Colin Cambel, of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Argyll. Skene's arguments about the early connection of the Macgillivrays, Macinnesses, and Clan Dugall are all "in the air"—not even good guesswork.

Page 253. CLAN LAMONT. Skene failed to recognise this clan in MS. 1450; hence he does not join them to the Mac Lachlans, &c. They were powerful in the 13th century, and too generous to the Church. It is unlikely that they bore the name Mac-erchar previous to Mac Lamont, though there was a tendency latterly to do so. Anegosius Maccarawer, who submitted to Edward I. in 1297, has been claimed as the then chief of Mackintosh, though really head of the Lamonts. The name Lamont is earlier Lagman, a Norse name, the same in force and elements as English Law-man.

Page 256. ATHOLL. Older Gaelic form, Athrhotla or Ath-Fodla, "Second Fodla" or Second Ireland, *Fodla* being one of the names of Ireland, and that also of a mythical queen of the same. Atholl is one of the old Pictish provinces, and its population represent the best type of the Caledonians. Skene here makes it belong to the Gall-Gaidheil—a flat impossibility. The Norse never had any power in Atholl.

Page 256. ABTHANE. The title Abthane, to which Skene here devotes several pages, never existed! The word is the old Gaelic for Abbey-land, still preserved in Appin! All this is known in *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 343, and in vol. i., p. 431, Skene actually criticises Burton for following Fordun in such nonsense! The ingenious arguments about *abthane* all fall to the ground (pp. 257-263).

Page 264. Clan Donnachie. The name Donchath or Donnchath is explained as for Donno-catus "Warrior-lord" or "Brown-warrior," for the colour *donn* meant both. Duno-catus, another old name, makes this doubtful, for *duno* (*u* short) is used in names and means "strength"; as *dunum*, it means "town," "fort."

Page 266, line 9 from bottom. Read Conaing, not Conan.

Page 270. CLAN PHARLAN. This clan has nothing to do with Atholl. The clan is descended from the Earls of Lennox, as he well shows later. These Earls themselves were Celtic, and a Celtic genealogy is given them in the older genealogies (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 476) and in MS. 1450, though Skene was unable to decipher the genealogy in the 1450 MS., or, indeed, to recognise it. The name Ailin in the Gaelic records, Englished, or rather Latinised, as Alwyn (*us*), is native; it is also old, for Adamnan (700) has it as Ailenus. The root is *al*, stone (cf. Athelstane, Thorstein, &c.) The Norman Alan is from Breton, and means an Alemann ("All Men"; cf. Frank, Norman, Dugall).

Page 271, line 11. Aluin Macarchill appears in the Book of Deer as Algune Mac Arcill (8th year of David's reign), and the man was an East Coast—probably Aberdeen—potentate.

Page 275, line 24. "Andrew Macfarlane *does not appear* to have had a natural title to the chiefship." Why? Because Sir John Macfarlane is called "*capitaneus* de Clan Pharlane"; and Skene is satisfied *capitanus* or "captain" means "cadet chief." Now, *captain* is the very earliest word for "chief." The word chief did not then *naturally* mean what was known as a Highland chief. The 1587 Act puts "captain" before either "chief" or "chieftain." See p. 291, l. 13 from bottom, for proper use of "captain." There is no break in the Macfarlane genealogy (so *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 329). This is history as "she was wrote" in 1837. The name Parlan, as he says,

is an adaptation of Bartholomew ; just as the same family were fond of the name Absolon, and derived therefrom M'Auslan, a sept of the Buchanans.

Page 278, line 2 from end. For "Mhic Croeb" read "Moreb," that is, Morays—dat. pl. of *muir*, sea.

Page 279. MAC-HEATH. Much nonsense has been written about Malcolm Mac-Heth, whose life history is complicated by the fact that an impostor, Wymund, Bishop of Man, tried to act his part. The name Heth is the most ill-used syllable I know of. It appears as Head, Ed, Eth ; the Gaelic form of all these monstrosities can easily be identified. It is the very favourite name of Aed or Aodh, later, translated as Hugh. Mac-Heth is an old form of Mackay, the Galwegian Mackie ! Earl Ed is one of David's seven earls, and was, of course, Earl of Moray. He was married to King Lulach's daughter, and was thus father of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain in 1130. Malcolm Mac-Heth was another son of Aed, and he continued the war. He married Somerled's sister, and was thus the father of the Mac-Heth nephews whom Somerled supported in 1153. Malcolm Mac-Heth was reconciled to the king in 1157, and made Earl of Ross. The impostor's share in the whole story is not clear. Mac-Heth was not a family name ; surnames had not yet started, or were only starting in Southern Scotland. Mac-Heth was used, like a surname, to denote the claim on the Earldom of Moray by the descendants of Aed.

Page 282. Conquest of Moray. Skene makes far too much of this Conquest of Moray, and his two Gillespics, though named by Fordun, can hardly represent the old families of Mac-Heth and Mac-William. The whole of p. 283 is *in nubibus*.

Page 284. THE CLAN CHATTAN, which is so named from St. Catan or little Cat. Skene's views on this clan are vitiated by the fact that willy-nilly he antedates the Macphersons, who, probably, did not belong to the clan in a genealogical sense at all, being in the same position as the Macgillivrays and other adherents. Besides, the Macphersons are unknown till 1594. Shaw, the historian of Moray, could not give them a genealogy ; and the genealogy in Douglas' Baronage is an audacious manufacture. It is usual to regard the Clan Chattan as coming from Lochaber, but MS. 1450, which, by the way, identifies the Mackintoshes with Clan Chattan, points rather to a Moray connection, and possibly a relationship, as far as Mackintosh is concerned, with the family of Macbeth—the Mormaors of Moray. Skene's identification of Tead (Head in 1837) of that genealogy with Heth of Moray is impossible, if the name is Tead, and unlikely anyway. MS. 1450 has two genealogies of Clan Chattan. The first one is undoubtedly the Mackintosh genealogy, or an attempt at it. The second genealogy is quite a puzzle, for it does not agree in any way with the Macpherson genealogy. Both end in Gillicatan, significantly 14 generations back, which would place that worthy about the year 1000. Skene forces the second genealogy on the Macphersons, who don't want it ! They have one of their own already !

Page 287. The Battle at the North Inch of Perth. The clans who fought at Perth in 1396 were the Clan Shaw (Clann Headh) or Mackintosh, and a clan called Quhele. We do not exactly know what this clan was ; it is mentioned in 1587. It must have possessed the uplands of Badenoch ; but

it gave way before the Macphersons, *who came from Strathnairn* originally. In *Celtic Scotland* Skene makes the combatants to be the Mackintoshes and Camerons. This is the usual view now, but it is not correct. No early Macphersons had names like Sha Ferchar-son. In the later work Skene gives the Macphersons as ancestor, Duncan Persoun (1438), a personage imprisoned with the Lord of the Isles. Their own genealogy names the Parson as Muireach, and his date, according to the length of their genuine genealogy, is about 1400, thus: Andrew, in Cluny (1591), son of Ewen, son of Donald Og (1562?), son of Donald Dall, son of Donald Mor (his brother Bean of Brin appears in 1490), son of Duncan (Skene's Parson!), son of Kenneth, son of Ewen Ban, son of Murdoch Parson, whence Clann Mhuirich (about 1380). This Murdoch was great grandson of Gillicatan, who flourished 400 years before! He was also great grandfather of Eva of Clan Chattan, who married Angus Mackintosh in 1291, and brought him the Clan Chattan lands and chiefship!

As a matter of fact Skene himself hit upon the truth. It was Huntly that raised the Cluny chiefs to check Mackintosh's rising power. The Strathnairn Macphersons he bands in 1543 against Mackintosh, and in 1591 he bands the Badenoch Macphersons. Besides, they were Huntly's tenants. In 1603, Andrew Macpherson *in* (not *of*) Cluny had land to the extent of "3 pleuchs in Laggan," of which he was tacksman. And this is the family that Mr Andrew Lang, following Skene's 1837 vagaries, ranks as royal! Skene's argument about "captain" of Clan Chattan gets a good back-hander on p. 291, l. 13 from bottom, in the present work: "Hieland Captains."

The legitimacy of a Parson's son has also to be considered in the case of a Highland chief. If Muireach lived in the 14th century, down tumble the Macpherson claims. A surname—or Highland Mac surname—cannot go back to the Culdees.

The Macduff nonsense in the Mackintosh genealogy may really be explained by the curious fact that the allied Macbeth genealogy is called "genealogy of Clan Duff." The Mackintoshes are probably of Macbeth's lineage. There was no *thane* of Fife, and Macduff himself is doubtful; Macduff could not be a surname.

Eva, of Clan Chattan, has been usually regarded as mythical by those who have studied this question unbiasedly; but Mr Murray Rose has tried to prove her identity. A lady Eva in 1296 supplicates her maintenance from Edward I., her husband having been taken prisoner at Dunbar. It runs thus—"Eva, uxor domini Alexandri Comyn de Badenaghe, qui captus fuit apud Dunbar, supplicat regi sustentationem suam de 40 £ terra de dote Domini Alexandri de Moravia quondam viri sui." An old antiquary—Rose, of Moncoffer—left among his innumerable papers a statement that Eva, heiress of Lochaber of the Isles (= Eva Macdonald, of Lochaber) married firstly, Alexander Murray, Freskin of Duffus' brother; secondly, Alexander Cumming, son of John Cumming of Badenoch; and thirdly, she married Mackintosh of Clan Chattan. The weak point in the statement is that Eva was heiress of Lochaber, for in her time, the eastern portion, at least, of Lochaber belonged to the Cummings.

Page 295. Macdonald of Keppoch had no right to his lands. His ancestor, Angus of Fersit, was an illegitimate son of Alaster Carrach.

Page 299. THE CLAN CAMERON. In modern times the Cameron estates have been west of the Lochy. Again Skene's notion of "captain" leads him astray. The sept of the Camerons were the Mac Martins, Sliochd Somhairle, Clann 'ic Gillonfhaidh, and the Locheil branch. The 1450 MS. contains names from the Mac Martins and the M'Gillonies; they are all the same stock. Gillonfhaidh or Maolonfhaidh means "Servant of Storm." Cameron itself is from Gille-Camshròin, "Wry-nosed one." But the Camerons of Fife, Edinburgh, and Southern Perth, derived their names from the place-names Cambrun. Bishop Cameron was an Edinburgh man; but he is given in the Cameron genealogies as brother of that excellent reiver, Donald Du! The Cameron genealogy in the histories before Donald Du is manufactured like that of Cluny in Douglas.

Page 302, line 6. Ewen Allanson got his lands of Locheil and Lochalsh from Celestine of Lochalsh and his son, Sir Alexander. The Clan Ranald was in possession of its usual Garmoran lands; it had lost Lochaber altogether.

Page 304. The Mac-Naughtons. The name Nectan is Pictish and comes from *nig*, wash, as already said. The deportation of the Mac-Naughtons from Northern Moray is mere theory, and unlikely too. The name exists clanwise only in Strathay and Argyll. It seems clear that the Mac-Naughtons are intruders into Argyll from Pictland.

Page 307. THE MACLEANS. Of course the Macleans are not "of Moray"; they are an Island family, the name being either Mac-Gilleòin or Mac-Gill' Sheathain (Gill'-eathain); in either case the name means "Son of John's Gille." MS. 1450 has the genealogy, and improved by other sources it appears at p. 480-1 of *Celtic Scotland*, iii.—a good genealogy. Gillemore, of Perth, is not in the genealogy; and the three sons mentioned in Bruce's time (John, Nigel, and Dofnald, 1326) are the sons of the real Gilleoin or ancestor. For John Mac Gillimore, read John Mac Gilleòin.

Page 308. The Mackinnons were possessed of lands in Mull. The Macleans were interlopers, apparently. The legend on p. 308 is old, but unauthentic.

Page 309. The capture of Lachlan Mac Lean at Harlaw is unlikely.

Page 310-1. An account of the feud between Maclean and Angus of Isla is given in the new history of *Clan Donald*, vol. ii. p. 553-73. It gives a more fair, if Macdonaldian, account of the transactions (dates 1596-8).

Page 312. Siol O'Cain. All this is traditional and unworthy of regard. O'Cathan is not allied to Clan Chatan; the one is from *cath*, battle; the other is from *cat*, cat. These O'Cathans came over in the train of the O'Cathan wife of Angus Og (1300)—so the Seanachies say, but, to use Fordun's terms, "they lie." These were native clans (p. 313). The Sleat Historian is the main authority for all this.

Page 313. THE MUNROS. The Sleat Seanachie says that this clan got its name from Bun-Roe, "Mouth of Roy River," in Derry, and that they came over in the train of Angus Og's wife (O'Cathan). A clan in the east of Ross, before ever Macdonalds were Earls of Ross, could hardly have come as

attendants on the bride of the Lord of Kintyre in west Argyle. The name is very difficult to unravel; it is a place-name, since the first chiefs in the 14th century are called *de Munro*. Monadh-Ruadh, or even Bun-Ruadh ("Red Mount," "Red-footland"), would phonetically suit—the former especially. Ruadh, or Rodh, is the latter root and the foundation of the Gaelic name, Rothach, a Munro. Robert de Monro is the first assured chief by charter evidence (1341-1372).

Page 316. THE MAC-MILLANS. The name is firstly Mac-Gille-mhaoil, Gille-maol, "Bald Gille"; but it probably stands for Gille-na-maol, which means "Gille of the Saints." Shortened in the usual way, it appears as Maolan. Compare Gille-naomh, Irish Gille-na-naomh, "Gille of the Saints," whence M'Gilnef, and Naomhan, whence M'Niven. The Macmillans of Knap and those of Lochaber were clearly independent clans.

Page 317. The Buchanans and M'Auslans, as already said, are descended from the Earls of Lennox, and can be traced by early charters. See note above on p. 275.

Page 318. The first earl of Ross was Malcolm Mac-Heth, who was liberated in 1157, witnessed a charter of Dunfermline Abbey as Malcolm Mac Eth, and as Earl of Ross was entrusted with the defence of the monks of Dunfermline. His real due was the suppressed Earldom of Moray; he got only the (easter) Ross part of it. He seems to have behaved badly, and probably plotted to get back the old Earldom. The next Earl of Ross is the Count of Holland, but he does not seem to have had more than the nominal title. The first Earl of line was Ferchar Mac-in-tagart (son of the priest), hailing evidently from the west—from the clerical district of Applecross. His family name was O Beóllan, Beóllan being a common name then, even borrowed by the Norse (from *beul*, mouth). His connection with the Clan Gillanders is close, though not clear. Paul Mac-Mac-tire, in 1370, was, evidently from MS. 1450, chief of it.

Page 319, line 4 from bottom. Gilleoin does not translate into Colin. Later it is the surname Gilleon, a side form of Maclean.

Page 320, line 15 from bottom. "Gael of Western Isles"—read "Gall, &c." The Isles were still Norse.

Page 322, line 7. Paul Mac Tyre. Tyre was not his father, as usually is supposed, but Mac-tire (meaning "Wolf," a common name in his day and earlier); the name is Paul Mac 'Ic-tire. Of course Paul the Wolf is possible, and, as a fact, he harried Caithness sufficiently to earn this title. Historians usually call him after old traditions, Paul the Robber.

Page 323. The Rosses of Balnagown were descended of Hugh or Rarichies, third son of Hugh, fifth Earl of Sutherland. For the whole subject, see F. N. Reid's *Earls of Ross* (1894). The third Balnagown married Paul Mac-Mac-tire's daughter and heiress.

Page 326. The Mackenzies were vassals of the Earls of Ross, and little or nothing is known of their history until the forfeiture of the last Earl. Their first charter is about the first forfeiture of the Island lord—1463. Anything before that is spurious. The first chief mentioned is Kenneth More, leader of two thousand, captured by the king in 1427, as Skene here says. In *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 317, he gives this Kenneth Mor as ancestor of

Cluny! And this, too, though Kenneth was manifestly a prominent vassal of the Earl of Ross, whose men alone are mentioned by Fordun. Mackenzie comes from G. Coinneach, "Fair one"; it has nothing to do with Kenneth. The *z* in the name arose from mistaking old *g* for *z*, Kengie being the real form.

Page 328, line 6 from end. John, last Earl of Ross, was the only legitimate son of Alexander, Earl of Ross. His sons, Celestine and Hugh, were both illegitimate: Celestine of Lochalsh, and Hugh of Sleat, ancestor of Lord Macdonald.

Page 331. CLAN MATHESON. The Gaelic is Mac-Mhathan, "Son of Bear." Like the Mackenzies, they were vassals of Ross, but at the forfeiture of the Earldom they, unhappily, were vassals to Celestine and his son Alexander, of Lochalsh, and so did not get free like the Mackenzies. Good genealogies to about 1600 can be made out for the leading families.

Page 331. Siol Alpine. This is pure tradition, made famous by Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, and therefore requiring respectful notice.

Page 332. CLAN GREGOR. The name is the Latin Gregorius, from late Greek gregorios, "Watchful." There was no King Gregory; the name meant is Cyric, debased into Girig. A genealogy to Kenneth Mac Alpin appears in the Dean of Lismore's Book; a quite different one appears in MS. 1450, going back to Ferchar Foda of Lorn. An account of the lands held in Glenorchay by the Macgregors will be found in *Orig. Parochiales*, ii. part i. p. 138.

Page 339. CLAN GRANT. The name means undoubtedly "great," and is the Norman-French grand or grant (compare Blound, Blount, &c.) The first of the name are mentioned on p. 340—Laurence Le Grant and Robert—the former being Sheriff of Inverness. They were Norman-French interlopers. The clan itself, like the rest of the population, is native. The Bissets, Grants, and Prats were neighbours both in England (Nottingham, &c.) and in Northern Moray in the 13th century. Many *le Grants* are mentioned as connected with the North in 1292-1307. Gilbert of Glencarnie (*circ.* 1360) was not a Grant, as Skene asserts; but Matilda of Glencarnie was mother of the first undoubted Chief of Grant (Sir Duncan Grant, 1434-85), her father being Gilbert of Glencarnie or Duthil. Many Grants appear in the 14th century, and confusion reigns in the Grant genealogy for that reason. Sir Duncan's father was possibly John Roy Grant, who died young.

Page 341. THE MACKINNONS. The name Fingon was common in older times, a Celtic Vindo-gonios, denoting "Fair-bairn." The original habitat of the clan was Mull (Mishinish the chief place), where they held lands under the Lord of the Isles, and from the crown after their forfeiture. They had also the estate of Strathardle in Skye (parted with in 1791, the last of their land). They were closely connected with Iona in the 15th century, and John Mackinnon was the last abbot. See "Memoirs of Clan Fingon," by Rev. Donald D. Mackinnon, M.A. (1899). Their Clan Gregor connection, though asserted by a bond, seems mere fancy. There was a bond also between the Mackinnons and Macnabs, asserting kinship.

Page 343. Mac-nab, "Son of the Abbot"; likely the abbot of Glendochart, where there was a great Celtic monastery.

Page 344. *Macphee* : Gaelic (old) *Mac Duibhsithe*. The name *Dubhsithe* means "Black of Peace," the adjectives of colour being so used often to govern nouns in the genitive.

Page 345. *Macquarrie* : *Mac-Guaire*. The name *Guaire*, Celtic *Gaurios* or *Gōrios*, means "noble," "glorious." The clan had a good position under the *Macdonald* chiefs.

Page 345. *Mac-Aulay*. Skene's two objections to the *Mac-aulays* being not of the line of the Earls of Lennox are of little value. The bond of kinship of 1591 rests on pure tradition. The *Aulay* is no doubt here the Norse *Olaf* or *Anlaf*. The *Macaulays* of *Lewis* are certainly of Norse origin. There was an old Gaelic name, *Amalgaidh*, which confuses the etymology of the name in the case of the Lennox *Macaulays*, where the Earls bear old Gaelic names like *Ailin* and *Maoldomhnach*.

Page 347. *GARMORAN*. In 1343 this name is *Garw-morwarne*, that is, *Garbh-morthern* or "Rough Morvern," meaning, no doubt, the "Rough (bounds) of Morvern," the district to the south of it. *Mor-vern* itself means likely "Great Passes" (*hearna*). Neither name has anything to do with *Mearns* (older *Magh-ghirghinn*), either in pronunciation or roots. *Garmoran* was the *Clanranald* country, "from *Sheil* to *Sourn*," as the Dean of *Lismore* has it. It was never an earldom, only a district. Skene here is entirely wrong, and the Earldom of *Garmoran* has no place in *Celtic Scotland*.

Pages 348, 349. The events here detailed as I., II., III. belong to *Mearns*. See *Celtic Scotland*, i. 364, 439, and 452.

Page 349, last line. *Cellach* could not become *Gilli* in Norse ; it becomes *Kjalakr*. Earl *Gilli* ruled in the Isles (*Coll*, &c.) and not on the mainland. Besides, there was no Earldom of *Garmoran*. Nor could it remain in the Crown till *Alexander III.*'s time. It then belonged to the *M'Rorys*, and had been so held since *Rory's* time (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 88).

Page 350, line 17. The *Macleods* and *Campbells* were entirely unconnected and never belonged to the fabled Earldom of *Garmoran*.

Page 351. *CLAN LEOD*. Skene denies the Norse origin usually ascribed to the *Macleods* by tradition. The genealogies given both for the *Campbells* and *Macleods* in the *Kilbride MS.* of 1540 and *MS.* 1450 are clearly absurd : both deduce the lineage of these clans from *Fergus Lethderg*, son of *Nemed* (2349 B.C. !), but there is nothing in common in the genealogies, save these last two names. The *Campbell* genealogy passes through *King Arthur* and other British names. The *Macleod* genealogy passes through *Iver*, the Norse King of *Dublin* (9th century), and several ancestors bearing such Norse names as *Olvir*, *Magnus*, *Harold*, *Uspac*, *Magnus* of *Orkney*, *Longbard*, &c. To make them Gaelic, the two mythic heroes are added at the end. There is therefore no connection whatever between the *Campbells* and *Macleods*, as a student of Highland history might expect. (See *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 340). Skene regards the *Macleods* as mainland clans, mainly because the charters of 1343 to the respective heads of both branches are for *Glenelg* and *Assynt* ; but the after history of the *Macleods* show them to be almost purely an Island race. Indeed, *Assynt* is traditionally recorded as coming to the *Lewis* branch through the heiress of the *Macnicols*. We may, therefore, regard the *Macleods* as a Hebridean clan ; and, secondly, we can

deduce from their Norse names—Leod (Ljótr, “Ugly,” ‘curtailed doubtless from Ljótulf, “Ugly Wolf”), Torquil or Thor-Kell (“Thor’s Kettle”), Tormod (“Thor-mooded”), and further back, Ollghair (Olvir)—that the chiefs were purely Norse. Their descent from Olave of Man is not proveable by any old documents. Lewis and Harris formed the cradle of the race apparently; and from this we may infer that the Lewis family was the elder, as keeping the first habitat. Leod may, as the clan historians have it, have lived in the time of Alexander III., after the cession of the Isles (1266). His two sons, Torquil and Tormod, may have been the heads of the two branches or clans (so Gregory) into which they were in historic times divided. An interesting genealogy, attached to the Maclean genealogy (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 482), should be borne in mind in discussing any genealogy before or after Leod. It plainly contains “Ollaghar Nan Lann” of Mary the Bardess.

Page 352, line 16. Macleod of Harris does *not* always take precedence of Macleod of Lewis in the charter signatures. On this score, they are about even. Buchanan of Auchmar (1723) gives the Lewis branch the precedence. Despite Gregory, who regards them as two separate clans, with separate armorial bearings, there seems little doubt that the clan chiefs are ultimately from one father.

Page 354. The story of the atrocity at Egg, though formerly much doubted, is now known to be perfectly true from a contemporary MS. in *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 428, &c. The date of the event is 1577.

Page 356. CLAN CAMPBELL. As Skene says, the Campbells are certainly Celtic. The name is an epithet. Caim-beul, “Wry-mouth,” is equivalent to the ancient Irish *cerrbél*, an epithet of Fergus, father of Diarmat, king of Ireland (539-558). *Cerrbél* or *Cearr-beul* became a Christian name as *Cearbhall*, Norse *Kjarvalr*, now *Carrol*. We meet also in ancient literature with *ech-bél*, “horse-mouthed.” The name *Cameron* is also to be compared. The other derivations offered are useless. There was no “*de Campo-bello*,” because idiom demanded *Bello-campo* (*Beauchamp*, *Beecham*); and “*de Campellis*” would become *Champeaux*. Of course the Campbells belonged not to Garmoran, though apparently Arthur, son of Sir Arthur Campbell, got a charter from the M’Rory heiress (about 1300) for the Garmoran lands; but it clearly took no effect. John Macarthur in 1427 lost his life in reviving the claim to Garmoran, along with Alexander Mac Reury. These Campbells were, no doubt, the Strathchur branch, whose claim to the headship of the Campbell race rests merely on assertion. In *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 331, Skene says the original seat of the Campbells was the district of Lochow and Ardskeodnich, and he concedes to the Mac Cailin-Moir branch the headship (*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 339). At anyrate, it is the genealogy of the Lochow family that is always given; it goes back to an ancestor, Duibhne, who lived about the middle of the 12th century. The clan was certainly known as *Clann O Duibhne* or *Clann Duibhne* (Englished *Clan Guin*, and often badly rendered in its Gaelic form in the old MSS. and songs). In 1266, Gillespie Campbell has the king’s lands of Menstrie and Sauchie in Stirlingshire—evidently temporarily; but he is the first Cambell mentioned, and is regarded, no doubt rightly, as father of Cailin Mór (1292), who possessed lands in Argyle, and who is the family eponymus (M’Callum-mor).

In 1292, Thomas Cambel held lands in Kintyre, and about the same time Dugald Cambell is connected with Dumbarton Castle as governor. The relationship of these several Cambels, and of Sir Arthur Cambel, it seems impossible now to define. Cailin Mor's son was Sir Neil, who married Bruce's sister. The Cambells are usually regarded as interlopers in Argyle (see Brown's *Memorials of Argyle*), but, if they did not originally belong to Argyle, we must not go further than Dumbartonshire for their habitat. The old genealogies trace them to the British King Arthur, a tradition which may indicate that the Cambells originally lived on the borderland of the Strathclyde Briton and the Gael. The name Arthur is common among them. The Cambells rose then on the ruins of the families of Lorn and of Alexander, lord of the Isles, partisans of the English. The Cambells of Lochow soon became masters of Argyle; they were a race of statesmen, with high literary talent, as old Gaelic poetry shows, and they still manifest the same characteristics. Skene's severe censures are undeserved; because the Campbell chiefs nearly always trod a path of level-headed common sense, must they be declared cunning and unscrupulous?

Page 357, middle paragraph. There was no sheriffdom of Argyle till 1292.

Page 359. CAITHNESS. The old province of Cat (so named from the Catti or Cat-tribe) included Caithness and Sutherland. In the restricted sense, Caithness meant in the Sagas, modern Caithness, but they also used it to mean the whole Cat province, save Sutherland. The province Ness meant strictly and always modern Caithness; it was the Ness of Cat. Skene's attempt to make Ness mean the Cape Wrath district is entirely against the evidence (p. 366); it is abandoned in *Celtic Scotland*.

Page 360, line 5 from bottom. "Gaddgedli"; this is simply a corruption of Gall-Gaidheil, later reduced to mean Galloway. The text of the Saga here is corrupt (Anderson's *Orkn. Saga*, p. 28).

Page 361. THE MACKAYS. The name Aodh or Aed, so troublesome to Sassenach scribes, was once the most popular of Gaelic names. We have already dealt with the Mac-Heths of Moray; then there were the powerful Mackeths, or Mackies, of Galloway; Mackays of Ugadale; Mackays of the Rinns in Islay; and the Morgan Mackays of Sutherland. There is, of course, no connection between these clans. The Inverness-shire Mackays are usually called in Gaelic, Mac-àì, that is, Mac Dhàì or Davidson; they formed a branch of Clan Chattan. It is remarkable that the Sutherland Mackays claim kinship with the Forbes's of Aberdeenshire, and about 1608 actually adopted Lord Forbes' arms, with cadet differences (by permission of Lord Forbes, whom Hugh Mackay of Mackay calls his "dear chief"); but it is also remarkable that the name Morgan exists, or in historic times existed, nowhere else than in Aberdeenshire and among the Sutherland Mackays. The name is Pictish—Morcunn (Book of Deer), "Sea-bright." Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the Earl of Ross held lands in Buchan—indeed, he was entitled to half the earldom, and the last lord of the old line died in asserting his claims, and the first of the Macdonald lords suffered at Harlaw in the same cause. Now, the lands of Strathhalladale and Ferrincoskry (Skibo, Creich, &c.), and probably more, belonged to the Earl of Ross. The former lands were granted or re-granted to Angus Du Mackay in 1415 by Donald of the

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Isles. Angus Du is the first historic chief of Clan Mackay, and from Donald's charter we learn that he held also Strathnaver (Aed *de* Strathnaver), or part of it. He does not seem to have held it of the crown. Angus opposed the claims of Donald of Isles to the Earldom of Ross, and put himself at the head of all the men of Sutherland, belonging to the Earldom of Ross, and the Ross-shire men, to expel Donald from the earldom, but Angus was defeated and captured. He then married Donald's sister, and in 1415 received the lands above mentioned (Strathhalladale and Ferrincoskry). In 1427, he was arrested as abettor to the Lord of the Isles, his nephew, when he is represented as having 4000 men at his command. This number must apply to his former campaign against Macdonald, when he had all the malcontents of the Earldom of Ross at his back. The Mackays were never so numerous as the Mackenzies, who, in 1427, could muster 2000. But all Fordun's numbers are clearly exaggerated for the clans and chiefs then in arms in Macdonald's cause.

Page 364. "Y. Mackay"; this should simply be "Y. Mackay." The single letter Y was all that then represented Aodh, older Aed, "Fire."

Pages 366-7. All the arguments about Ness here are simply wasted ingenuity. See above note on p. 359—Caithness.

Page 367. THE MAC-NICOLS. This was a Norse clan like the Macleods. Macnicol is, and was, sometimes pronounced Macreacuill according to a well-known Gaelic phonetic law that *cn* becomes *cr* (cf. Macreachtain for Mac-naughton, Macrigh for Macni). An ancestor, Krycul, is absurdly impossible as a name. Nicolas was a common Norse name. The habitat of the Clan Nicol is now Skye; they say that they left Assynt when the Macleods took possession of it, and came over to the nearest shore of Skye. Nicolsonson have been there for at least three hundred years, in abundance.

Page 370. Skene regards Sutherland proper—east of the Brae-chat and Dirie-chat range—as Norse, the Gaelic speakers being mostly incomers; but the same must be said of the rest of Sutherland. The old Earls of Sutherland were Celts of the Celts—the famed De Moravia family. Like the De Atholia family, they belonged to the family of the Mormaers of Moray—kinsmen by descent to Macbeth, Finlay, and Ruary. The Murrays still hold high places in the peerage: Duke of Atholl, Earls Mansfield and Dunmore, not to mention lesser titles. Freskin of Moray was probably the descendant of a refugee, De Moravia, who established himself in Norse Sutherland about the first Mac-Heth rebellions. The name Freskyn is still unexplained, but it is likely to be either Pictish or Gaelic, and not Flemish or Frisian as usually asserted.

Page 382, line 13. Delete "spoke languages that."

FINIS.

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